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THE ASOKAN ROCK AT GIRNAR.

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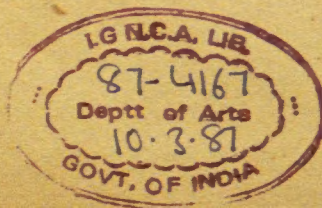


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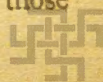


FOREWORD.

The present book is the result of a visit in the month of April 1935 to Gīrnār where I went in the course of a tour to study the question of the location of the old Dvārakā or Dvāravatī. While I was looking into the inscriptions on the famous rock, I saw visitors going back disappointed for want of a suitable book which would help them to understand the old inscriptions on the boulder. I heard them remark that such a book ought to have been written for the guidance of the general public. I realised the desideratum and decided to prepare such a book and thereby remove this just complaint. During my short sojourn at Mount Abu I prepared the material and then showed it to Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the enlightened Dewan of Baroda. He readily approved of the idea of publishing it in the Gaekwad's Archæological Series. This guide book is the result of his approval. It is hoped that a Gujarātī rendering of it will soon follow.

The rock described in the present book bears three very important inscriptions. One of them, which is the earliest, comprises the fourteen well-known rock edicts of Aśoka, the Great. The second is a record of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman, one of the old rulers of Western India, and the third is an epigraph of the time of Skandagupta, the great Gupta ruler of ancient India. All these records have been published already, but in different books. In the present publication their text with translation and a brief analysis of the contents are given in one place. In the case of the Aśokan edicts I have largely followed the late Dr. Hultsch who was one of my predecessors as Government Epigraphist for India. The text and the translation of the Rudradāman inscription mostly agree with those of the late Professor Kielhorn, and the reading and rendering of the inscription of Skandagupta are practically the same as were given by the late Dr. Fleet. A few changes, of course, have been made, but these are of a minor nature. In the transcriptions, however, the diacritical marks could not be used consistently. In giving a brief note on Aśoka I have based my remarks on the account written by the late Dr. V. Smith in his book named *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*. My indebtedness to all these scholars is thankfully acknowledged.

Though it is desirable to give facsimilies of inscriptions when the transcripts are given, yet I am leaving them out to reduce the cost of the book. Besides, facsimilies have already been published in the books to which I have referred above, namely, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volumes I and III, and the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume VIII. The reader desirous of making a further study of the records described in this book can see them in those publications.



For the names of places occurring in these inscriptions the attention of the reader is invited to the above-mentioned works and to the learned articles by Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. VII pp. 259 ff.) and by J. Burgess in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, *Kutch and Kathiawad*, pp. 130-131, as also to the notes of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his scholarly work on Aśoka. In the appendix to the present Memoir general equivalents are given without detailed discussion in order to enable the reader to form a rough idea of the localities which were probably meant. As to the names of the historical personages, their identity is practically settled and hardly any discussion is needed to establish it.

The appendixes were added as an afterthought at the suggestion of my esteemed friend C. E. A. W. Oldham, Esq., C. S. I., I. C. S. (Retired), who very kindly went through the final proof of this as well as of the first Memoir. I cannot close this foreword without expressing my indebtedness to him.

Baroda,
Tuesday, the 10th of September, 1936.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.



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THE ASOKAN ROCK AT GIRNAR.

General
remarks.

The rock or boulder which forms the subject of the present Memoir lies about one mile to the east of Jūnāgaḍh, the capital of the Jūnāgaḍh State. It bears three different records. One forms the famous set of **Aśoka's** fourteen edicts; the second, an inscription of *Mahākshatrapa* **Rudradāman**; and the third, an inscription of the reign of the Gupta king **Skandagupta**. The **Aśoka** edicts are incised on the north-east face of the boulder. They are arranged in two columns, separated from one another by straight lines. The left column consists of edicts I to V, and the right, of edicts VI to XII. The edicts XIII and XIV are engraved below the edicts V and XII.

The **Aśoka** inscription was intact till 1822, but subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a merchant who constructed a causeway from Jūnāgaḍh to Gīrnār. Two fragments of the lost portions of edict XIII were recovered some years ago and are now kept in the State museum at Jūnāgaḍh. At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess, a shed was built to protect the rock from the sun and rain. A watchman has also been appointed to take care of this very important ancient monument.

The **Rudradāman** inscription was engraved on the rock about A. D. 150, i.e., some four centuries after these immortal edicts of the great **Maurya** Emperor were incised. It is written on the western side near the top of the rock. This important epigraph bears direct testimony to the care which was bestowed in ancient India by the Central Government upon irrigation even in the remote provinces. Gīrnār is situated at a distance of at least 1000 miles from the ancient Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the **Maurya** Empire, still the needs of the local farmers did not escape the attention of the throne. A detailed notice of the contents of this inscription is given in the sequel. The record tells us that **Pushyagupta**, the **Vaiśya**, who was the governor of the western provinces under **Chandragupta**, dammed up a small stream and turned it into a reservoir of great value, which was called सुदर्शन, i. e., the beautiful. The necessary supplemental channels were constructed during the reign of **Aśoka** under the superintendence of his representative **Tushāspa**, the **Yavana** chieftain. These beneficial works constructed under the patronage of the **Maurya** Emperor endured for four hundred years, but finally burst owing to a storm of exceptional intensity in the



year A. D. 150. The embankment was rebuilt three times stronger than before by the orders of the Śaka Satrap **Rudradāman** as stated in the inscription. In spite of the triple strength of the masonry, the dam burst again as it could not withstand the fury of the elements. It was again repaired in A. D. 458 by the local governor under **Skandagupta**, the great Gupta Emperor. At some time unknown, these ancient works fell to ruins, and the lake thus finally disappeared. Its site, buried in deep jungle, is now utterly forgotten and cannot be located with certainty.

The third inscription on the rock is of **Skandagupta**, the Gupta Emperor of ancient India who flourished in the fifth century of the Christian era. It occupies the north-western face of the boulder and is equally important as a historical document. A detailed notice of it is given below, where a transcript as well as translation have been added. The main object of this valuable inscription is to record that the lake **Sudarśana** again burst owing to the heavy rainfall during the reign of **Skandagupta**, but was promptly restored by **Chakrapālita**, who was the son of **Parṇadatta**, the Emperor's deputy, by the renewal of the embankment.

The history of **Sudarśana** lake recorded in the inscriptions would show that labour and expense were lavished upon irrigation works, even in remote dependencies of the Empire, and that provision of water for the fields was recognised as an important royal duty from the time of the Maurya Emperors down to that of the Guptas. As stated by the late Dr. Vincent Smith, Megasthenes was right when he remarked that the imperial officers were wont to "measure the land as in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is distributed into the branch canals so that every one may enjoy his fair share of the benefit."

After this brief introductory note let us examine the inscriptions in detail. The Aśokan inscription, which is the main record, is incised, as remarked above, on the north-east face and comprises the fourteen well-known edicts of the great Maurya Emperor.

The Aśokan edicts are written in the Brāhmī alphabet which gave rise to the Devanāgarī script of the present day. Their language is a form of Prākṛit closely allied to Sanskrit and the Pāli of the Ceylonese Buddhist books, but not identical with either. This was a dialect which was generally understood and read by the public of the Kāthiāwāḍ Peninsula. The use of this alphabet and language would show that there was one general script and one common language in practically the whole of India in the Maurya period of Indian history i. e. about the 3rd century B. C.

The inscription was first deciphered by the learned and ingenious scholar James Prinsep, to whom Indian epigraphy owes a great debt of gratitude.

The Edicts
of Aśoka.



His transcript and translation were based on tracings on cloth which were taken in 1835. Several eminent scholars worked on them subsequently. The late Dr. E. Hultzsch, one of my distinguished predecessors, published them finally in his monumental work, the new edition of the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which was printed for the Government of India at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1925. The transcript and translation of these well-known edicts given below are based on that edition. Excepting a few slight changes made here and there, they have been taken from his book. Before giving the text, I should like to introduce their author to the general reader.

Asoka.

Asoka, whose edicts are engraved on this well-known rock, was the third sovereign of the great Maurya Dynasty of India who ascended the throne of **Pāṭaliputra** about 273 B. C. He was a son of **Bindusāra** and grandson of **Chandragupta**. The latter was a great personality indeed. With the help of the astute Brāhmaṇa minister, Chāṇakya, he succeeded in exterminating the **Nandas** and in liberating his country from the foreign garrisons soon after the death of Alexander in 323 B. C. Seleukos, surnamed Nikator or the Conqueror, had to contract a matrimonial alliance with him by giving him his daughter in marriage. Chandragupta received four of the satrapies in exchange of a small recompense of 500 elephants. This treaty with the king of Syria, who even tried to eclipse the glory of Alexander the Great, considered to be "invincible before all enemies save death," extended Chandragupta's empire to the Hindukush mountains and brought practically the whole of what is now known as Afghānistān under his sway. According to the account given by an eye-witness, named Megasthenes, who resided at Pāṭaliputra as an ambassador of Seleukos about 305 B. C., Chandragupta had a standing army numbering 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants and a multitude of chariots. With this well equipped force he had overrun and subdued the whole of India and his empire extended at least from the river Narmadā to the Himālaya and the Hindukush.

Chandragupta ruled India sternly for some twenty-four years and transmitted his immense empire to his son Bindusāra Amitraghāta, who ruled for about twenty-eight years. The only recorded public event of the latter's reign was the despatch to his court by the king of Syria of an ambassador named Deimachos. The accounts given by Greek writers would indicate that the Indian monarchs communicated with their European allies on terms of perfect equality.

Previous to his accession, Asoka served as a Viceroy, first at Taxila and afterwards at Ujjain. The vast empire of Chandragupta passed on to him after

the demise of his father Bindusāra. He ruled without any internal discord and his orders were obeyed even in the most distant provinces.

Aśoka's titles.

Like his father, Aśoka bore the title of Devānāmpīya (Sanskrit *Devānāmpriya*) which literally means "dear to the gods." It may well be rendered by the phrase "His Sacred Majesty." He was also called "Piyadasi" (Sanskrit *Priyadarśin*) meaning "of gracious mien". This title may be rendered as 'His Gracious Majesty'. Chandragupta was called Piyadasana (Sanskrit *Priyadarśana*) meaning "dear to the sight". This epithet was also applied to Aśoka. Thus his full royal title was *Devānāmpīya Piyadasi Rājā*. i. e., "His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King." It occurs in inscriptions both in the complete and the abbreviated forms.

Early years of Aśoka's reign.

Aśoka in all probability followed Brahmanism, and did not wage any war in the early days of his rule. During the thirteenth year of his reign, that is, his 9th regnal year, he wanted to round off his dominions by the conquest of the kingdom of Kalinga on the coast of the Bay of Bengal between the Mahānadi and the Godāvāri rivers. He succeeded in conquering this kingdom and annexing it to his empire. But the horrors of the war he had had to wage made a deep impression on his heart, and he became a changed man. The profound sorrow and regret he felt on this occasion is expressed in the Rock Edict XIII, a translation of which will be found in the sequel. It was possibly after this war that he first became a lay disciple under the guidance of the monk Upagupta and finally a convert to Buddhism.

Aśoka's Dhamma (Dharma)

His ninth regnal year was the turning point of his career, and it was some two and a half years later that he assumed the monastic robe, abolished the Royal Hunt and substituted pious tours for pleasure excursions. It was about this time that he organised preaching missions to spread the teachings of the Buddha not only in India but in the far off lands of Western Asia, Northern Africa and Eastern Europe. The said Rock Edict XIII gives a detailed account of the countries to which the imperial missionaries were sent and tells us that Aśoka had sought the conversion of even the wild forest tribes and of the Yonas (Skt. *Yavanas*). As has been correctly remarked by the late Dr. V. Smith, the scheme propounded by this pious Emperor was not only comprehensive but successful. It resulted in Buddhism quickly becoming the dominant religion throughout India and Ceylon and ultimately extending over Burma, Siam, Cambodia, the Indian Archipelago, China, Korea, Japan, Mongolia, Tibet and other countries of Asia. In some of these countries Buddhism did not effect its entry until centuries after the time of Aśoka, but the diffusion of the religion in them all was due to the impetus given by this great Buddhist Emperor of India, who transformed the creed of a local Indian sect into a world religion, the most

important of all the religions, if the numbers of its adherents be taken as the test.

Asoka is often compared with Constantine the Great but it has to be admitted that the actions of the Indian monarch were far more influential than those of the Roman Emperor.

It was to propagate the *dharma* that he appointed for the first time special officers of high rank, entitled *Dharma-mahāmātras* or superior officials (*Mahāmātras*) exclusively engaged in the enforcement of the edicts concerning *dharma* or the Law of Piety in addition to the ordinary civil *Mahāmātras*. He issued special instructions to these officials to enforce the Law among all religious denominations, among the Yonas and other border tribes, and even in the households of his brothers and sisters and other relatives: such was his anxiety to spread the religion.

His younger brother Mahendra went to Ceylon for the diffusion of Buddhism. Processions are held even now in his honour in that island with his image placed in a chariot. Men, women, boys and girls in white robes follow it and, in recognition of his services, with one voice call out "*Mahendra, sādhu, sādhu, Buddha parihara*", meaning "Well done, well done, O Mahendra ! in serving the Buddha." There is nothing inherently impossible in the story of Saṅghamitrā, whom people of Ceylon believe to have been the daughter of Asoka who went to spread the "*dhamma*" in the island. Asoka must have done whatever was possible to propagate the Law which was so dear to him. Saṅghamitrā can be taken as a name given to her at the time of *dikshā* or spiritual initiation.

In the early years of his reign Asoka was not troubled by any scruples about the sanctity of animal life, and, as is stated in the first Rock Edict, he allowed "many hundred thousands of living creatures to be slaughtered every day to make curries." Later on, about his eleventh regnal year, this huge slaughter was reduced to two peacocks and one antelope, and that, too, "not invariably". From the thirteenth regnal year all killing for the royal table was stopped. Finally this care for animal life was developed into "an elaborate code of regulations restricting the slaughter and mutilation of animals" throughout his vast empire. This must have brought about vexatious results. Such an over-regard for the sanctity of animal life is practised more rigidly by the Jainas even in these days. A Buddhist may even take meat, but will not say that an animal may be killed for his sake. In this respect Asoka was more a Jaina than a Buddhist.

Sanctity of animal life.

Asoka, as is clearly shown in his edicts, was very insistent upon the duty of reverence to parents, seniors and teachers, and he reiterated this duty repeatedly in his edicts.

Reverence to parents.

Religious toleration.

Another important feature of Aśoka's faith was the religious toleration which he recommended very often and emphatically. But, as is taught in the *Bhagavadgītā*, he preferred adherence to one's own creed स्वधर्मं निवृत्तं श्रेयः in spite of his doing honour to all the sects—to Jainism, to Brahmanism, etc., all i.e. His point of view was that all these sects were in essence one and the same and all aimed at "self-control" and purity of life. This toleration or reverence for all creeds alike was practised by all the Hindu kings of ancient India.

Aśoka's beliefs.

The Rock Edicts show that Aśoka believed in another world or future life and was anxious to attain *punyam* or merit, which is the aim of every pious Buddhist even now. In the Rock Edict XIII he clearly says that the things which concern the other world bear much fruit, and he asks his descendants to think of the joy in this as well as in the next world. He believed in the superior effect of meditation and extolled the merit of alms-giving and works of benevolence. He planted in his empire shade-giving and fruit-bearing trees for the comfort of all human beings and animals and provided for the digging of wells, the construction of rest-houses and watering places along the highroads. In addition to all this, he made special arrangements for the care and healing of the sick and for the provision of medicinal herbs. He must have made arrangements for free hospitals in the empire. The Rock Edict II is clear evidence of this. Fa Hien, a Chinese pilgrim to India, saw a free hospital working at Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna, which was probably founded by Aśoka himself.

Vincent Smith has beautifully summed up Aśoka's moral teaching in the words of the church catechisms "To love, honour and succour my father and mother.....to submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters; to order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters; to hurt nobody by word or deed; to be true and just in all my dealing; to bear no malice or hatred in my heart; to keep my hands from picking and stealing and my tongue from evil speaking, lying and slandering....." His Edicts do not show that he believed in any personal God, but his teaching was of practical morality which recognised obligations not only to human beings or neighbours, but to animals as well. It is in this respect that his moral doctrines are considered to be so very high.

Extent of Aśoka's Empire.

Aśoka's empire probably comprised the countries now called Afghānistān, Balūchistan, Makrān, Sind, Cutch, Swāt Valley, Kashmīr, Nepal and the whole of India proper except the extreme south, and his dominions were far more extensive than the British India of today. The legends would show that even the city and kingdom of Khotan to the north of the Himālaya were under the political authority of this mighty Indian monarch.

The system of government developed by Chandragupta with the help of his preceptor Chāṇakya was maintained by his grandson Aśoka, who supplemented it by several reforms. Pāṭaliputra was the capital of the kingdom. It stood on the northern bank of the Son, a few miles above the confluence of that river with the Ganges. The Son has now changed its course and the old Pāṭaliputra, the glory of which was sung by many witnesses from abroad, does not exist now save in its ruins which lie hidden under a deep layer of silt by the side of modern Patna. The remains of the Royal Palace near the village of Kumhrār have been partially excavated by the Indian Archaeological Survey Department, and they testify to the correctness of the accounts given by the Chinese Pilgrim Fa Hien and other witnesses.

The metropolis was administered by a commission of thirty persons divided into six boards of five members each, like the modern Hindu *pañchāyat*. The words *pañchāyat* and *pañch* are evidently derived from *pañch* meaning 'five' (Sanskrit *pañchan*). These boards were charged with various functions. One was entrusted with the superintendence of industrial arts and artisans; another, with the supervision and care of foreigners, provision of medical aid to them, the administration of their estates in case of death, etc. The third had to keep registers of births and deaths, which were maintained for the information of Government and for realization of the revenues. The fourth supervised trade, the recovery of taxes and the examination of weights and measures. The fifth looked after the manufactured goods, and the sixth was in charge of the collection of the tax on sales, the evasion of which was considered a heinous crime. Very satisfactory arrangements were made for maintaining communication between the capital and the provinces of the State. There was a royal highway from Pāṭaliputra to the Indus through Takshaṣilā, which might be regarded as the forerunner of Lord Dalhousie's Grand Trunk Road.* River communications, waterways and a system of roads were maintained in the empire. Distances were marked by pillars, and by each pillar a well was dug. For the comfort of travellers shady and fruit trees were planted on the sides of the roads. Rest-houses were constructed at suitable places, and provision was made for the supply of drinking water by erecting sheds along the roads. The Imperial orders were communicated through a body of officials and the work of administration was done by crown officials of whom four, namely, the Princes of Takshaṣilā, Ujjain, Tosali and Suvarṇagiri, are mentioned in the Edicts. The Prince of Ujjain must have been responsible for the administration of Mālwa, Gujarāt and Saurāshṭra. Next to these Princes came the *Rājūkas* or Commissioners "set over hundreds of thousands of souls". Below them were the *Prādeśikas* or District Officers. These officials were generally called *Mahāmātras*. Under the district officers there were several petty officials like the *Yuktas*.

* Vincent Smith, *Aśoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, p. 91



The State had several departments, of which that for Irrigation was very important. It regulated the use of sluices for the proper distribution of water to the farmers. The Rudradāman inscription noticed in this book gives us a glimpse of the actual working of this department. This important record tells us that the Sudarṣana lake at Gīrnār was embanked in the reign of Chandragupta, the grandfather of Aśoka, and in the reign of Aśoka it was equipped with water-courses under the supervision of a Yavana chieftain named Tushāspa. All this was done to promote agriculture and safeguard the revenue. How eager Aśoka was to look to the prosperity of his subjects is seen in the Rock Edict VI. "I am never fully satisfied", says he, "with my efforts and despatch of business. Work I must for the welfare of all... Nothing is more efficacious than to secure the welfare of all." He personally attended to every business and heard cases even when he was being massaged. He wanted his people to regard him as their father, for he loved them as his own children.

FIRST ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. इयं धंमलिपी देवानंप्रियेन
२. प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता [.] इध न किं-
३. चि जीवं आरभित्पा प्रजुहितव्यं [.]
४. न च समाजो कतव्यो [.] बहुकं हि दोसं
५. समाजमिह पसति देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राजा [.]
६. अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं-
७. प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो [.] पुरा महानसमिह
८. देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो अनुदिवसं व-
९. हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाथाय [.]
१०. से अज यदा अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
११. णा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वा मोरा एको मगो सो पि
१२. मगो न ध्रुवो [.] एते पि त्री प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

- 1 Iyam dhamma-lipī Devānaṃpriyena
- 2 Priyadasinā rājā lekhāpitā [.] idha na kiṃ-
- 3 chi jīvaṃ ārabhitpā prajūhitavyaṃ [.]



- 4 na cha samājo katavyo [.] bahukaṁ hi dosaṁ
 5 samājamhi pasati **Devānāmpriyo Priyadasi rājā** [.]
 6 asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhu-matā **Devānā-**
 7 **priyasa Priyadasino rāṇo** [.] purā mahānasamhi
 8 **Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo** anudivasam ba-
 9 hūni prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya [.]
 10 se aja yadā ayam dhamma-lipī likhitā tī eva prā-
 11 ṇā ārabhare sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi
 12 mago na dhruvo [.] ete pi tī prāṇā pachhā na ārabhisare

TRANSLATION.

This edict on morality has been caused to be written by **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

Here no living being should be killed and sacrificed. And no festival meeting should be held.

For **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

Formerly in the kitchen of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (*daily*) for the sake of curry, (*viz.*), two peacocks (and) one deer, (*but*) even this deer not regularly.

Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो
२. एवमपि प्रचंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आ तंब-
३. पंणी अंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियकस सामीपं
४. राजानो सर्वत्र देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो द्वे चिकीळ कता
५. मनुसचिकीळा च पसुचिकीळा च [.] ओसुद्वानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च
६. पसोपगानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत्रा हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च [.]
७. मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च [.]
८. पथेसु कूपा च खानापिता व्रळा च रोपापिता परिभोगाय पसुमनुसानं [.]

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

- 1 Sarvata vijitamhi **Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo**
- 2 evam=api prachamtesu yathā **Choḍa Pāḍa Satiyaputo Ketalaputo**
ā **Tām̐ba-**
- 3 **pam̐ṇi Āmtiyako Yona-rājā ye vā pi tasa Āmtiyakasa** sām̐pam̐
- 4 rājāno sarvatra **Devānāmpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo** dve chikichha
katā
- 5 manusa-chikichhā cha pasu-chikichhā cha [.] osuḍhāni cha yāni
manusopagāni cha
- 6 pasopagāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatrā hārāpitāni cha ropāpitāni
cha [.]
- 7 mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra nāsti sarvata hārāpitāni cha
ropāpitāni cha [.]
- 8 pam̐thesū kūpā cha khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpitā paribhogāya
pasu-manusānam̐ [.]

TRANSLATION.

Everywhere in the dominions of king **Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, and likewise among (*his*) borderers, such as the ***Choḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Satiyaputa**, the **Ketalaputa**, even **Tāmraparṇi**, the **Yona king Antiyaka**, also the kings who are the neighbours of this **Antiyaka**, everywhere two (*kinds of*) medical treatment were established by king **Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, (*viz.*), medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.

Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह [.] द्वादसवासाभिसितेन मया इदं आजपितं [.]
२. सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राज्ञके च प्रादेशिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
३. यानं नियातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसस्सिटय यथा अजा-
४. य पि कंमाय [.] साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूसा मित्रसंस्तुतजातीनं बाम्हण-
५. समणानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारंभो अपव्ययता अपभाडता साधु [.]
६. परिसा पि युते आजपयिससि गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनतो च [.]

* For the identification of the geographical as well as of the historical names occurring in these inscriptions, the Appendixes given at the end may be seen.

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. **Devānāmpiyo Priyadasi rājā** evaṃ āha [-] dbādasa-vāsābhisitena mayā idaṃ āñapitaṃ [-]
2. sarvata vijite mama Yutā cha Rājūke cha Prādesike cha pañchasu pañchasu vāsesu anusarṇ-
3. yānaṃ niyātu etāyeva athāya imāya dhammānusasṭiya yathā ānā-
4. ya pi kaṃmāya [-] sādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā mitra-saṃstuta-ñātināṃ Bāmhāṇa-
5. Samañānaṃ sādhu dānaṃ prāṇānaṃ sādhu anāraṃbho apavyayatā apabhāḍatā sādhu [-]
6. paṇisā pi yute āñapayisati gaṇanāyaṃ hetuto cha vyamjanato cha [-]

TRANSLATION.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus:-

(*When I had been*) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me:—

Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rājūkas*, and the *Prādesikas* shall set out on a complete tour (*throughout their charges*) every five years for this very purpose, (*viz.*), for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (*and*) moderation in possessions are meritorious.

The council (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (*these rules*) both with (*the addition of*) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. अतिकातं अंतरं बहूनि वाससतानि वढितो एव प्राणारंभो विहिंसा च भूतानं जातीसु
२. असंप्रतिपती ब्राम्हणस्त्रमणानं असंप्रतीपती [-] त अज देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो
३. धंमचरणेन भेरीवोसो अहो धंमघोसो विमानदसणा च हस्तिदसणा च
४. अगिखंधानि च अत्रानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्वा जनं [-] यारिसे बहूहि वाससतेहि
५. न भूतपुवे तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो धंमानुसस्ठिया अनारं-

६. भो प्राणानं अविहीसा भूतानं जातीनं संपटिपती ब्रम्हणसमणानं संपटिपती मातरि पितरि
 ७. सुसुसा थैरसुसुसा [.] एस अवे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वढिते [.] वढयिसति चैव देवानंप्रियो
 ८. प्रियदसि राजा धंमचरणं इदं [.] पुत्रा च पोत्रा च प्रपोत्रा च देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो
 ९. प्रवधयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव सवटकपा धंमहि सीलमिह तिसंटतो धंम अनुसासिसति [.]
 १०. एस हि सेस्ते कंमे य धंमानुसासनं [.] धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस [.] त इममिह अधिमिह
 ११. वधी च अहीनी च साधु [.] एताय अथाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अथस वधि युज्जेतु हीनि न
 १२. नो लोचेतव्या [.] द्वादसवासामिसितेन देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा इदं लेखापितं [.]

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. Atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ bahūni vāsa-satāni vadhito eva prāṇārambho.
vihirīsā cha bhūtānaṃ jātīsu
2. asaṃpratipati Brāhmaṇa-Samaṇānaṃ asaṃpratīpatī [.] ta aja
Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo
3. dhamma-charaṇena bheri-ghoso aho dhamma-ghoso vimāna-darsaṇā
cha hasti-dasaṇā cha
4. agi-khamdhāni cha añāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā jaṇaṃ [.]
yārise bahūhi vāsa-satehi
5. na bhūta-puve tārise aja vadhite **Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo**
dhammānusaṣṭiyā anāraṃ-
6. (bh)o prāṇānaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ jātīnaṃ saṃpaṭipati Brahmaṇa-
Samaṇānaṃ saṃpaṭipati mātari pitari
7. susrusā thairasusrusā [.] esa añe cha bahuvīdhe dhamma-charaṇe
vadhite [.] vadhayisati cheva **Devānaṃpriyo**
8. **Priyadasī rājā** dhamma-charaṇaṃ idaṃ [.] putrā cha potrā cha
prapotrā cha **Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo**
9. pravadhayisaṃti idaṃ dhamma-charaṇaṃ āva savata-kapā dham-
mamhi silamhi tiṣṭaṃto dhammaṃ anusāsisaṃti [.]
10. esa hi seṣṭe kaṃme ya dhammānusaṣaṇaṃ [.] dhamma-charaṇe pi na
bhavati asilasa [.] ta imamhi aṭhamhi
11. vadhi cha ahīni cha sādhu [.] etāya athāya idaṃ lekhaṇitaṃ imasa
athasa vadhi yujjettu hīni cha
12. no lochetavyā [.] dvādasavāsābhisitena **Devānaṃpriyena Priyadasinā**
rāṇā idaṃ lekhaṇitaṃ

TRANSLATION.

In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted, the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.



But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

Such as had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (*and*) father, (*and*) obedience to the aged.

In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

And **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will promote this practice of morality until the aeon of destruction (*of the world*), (*and*) will instruct (*people*) in morality, abiding by morality (*and*) by good conduct.

For this is the best work, viz., instruction in morality.

And the practice of morality is not (*possible*) for (*a person*) devoid of good conduct.

Therefore promotion, and not neglect, of this object is meritorious.

For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (*in order that*) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (*of it*) should not be approved (*by them*).

This was caused to be written by **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (*when he had been*) anointed twelve years.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. देवानंप्रियो पियदस्सि राजा एवं आह [.] कलाणं दुकरं [.] यो आदिकरो कलाणस सो दुकरं करोति [.]
२. त मया बहु कलाणं कतं [.] त मम पुता च पोता च परं च तेन य मे अयच्चं आव संवटकपा अनुवतिसरे तथा
३. सो सुकतं कासति [.] यो तु एत देसं पि हापेसति सो दुकतं कासति [.] सुकरं हि पापं [.] अतिकातं अंतरं
४. न भूतप्रवं धम्महामाता नाम [.] त मया त्रैदसवासाभिसितेन धम्महामाता कता [.] ते सवपासडेसु व्यापता धामधिष्ठानाय

६.धंमयुतस च योणकंबोजगंधारानं रिस्टिकपेतेणिकानं ये वा पि अजे आपराता [.] भत्तुमयेसु व
 ७.सुखाय धंमयुतानं अपरिगोधाय व्यापता ते [.] बंधनबधस पटिविधानाय
 ८.प्रजा कताभीकरेसु वा थैरेसु वा व्यापता ते [.] पाटलिपुते च बाहिरसु च
 ९.ये वा पि मे अजे जातिका सर्वत व्यापता ते [.] यो अयं धंमनिस्सितो ति
 १०.ते धंममहामाता [.] एताय अथाय अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता
 १०.

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. **Devānāmpriyo Piyadasi rājā** evaṃ āha [.] kalāṇaṃ dukaraṃ [.] yo ādikaro kalāṇasa so dukaraṃ karoti [.]
- 2 ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṃ kataṃ [.] ta mama putā cha potā cha paraṃ cha tena ya me apachaṃ āva saṃvaṭa-kapā anuvatisare tathā
3. so sukataṃ kāsati [.] yo tu eta desaṃ pi hāpesati so dukataṃ kāsati [.] sukaraṃ hi pāpaṃ [.] atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ
4. na bhūta-pruvaṃ dhamma-mahāmātā nāma [.] ta mayā traidasa-vāsābhisitena dhamma-mahāmātā katā [.] te savapāsaṃdesu vyāpatā dhāmadhiṣṭānāya
5. dhamma-yutasa cha **Yoṇa-Kaṃboja-Gaṃdhārānaṃ Ristika-Peteṇikānaṃ** ye vā pi aṃñe āparātā [.] bhatamayesu va
6.sukhāya dhamma-yutānaṃ aparigodhāya vyāpatā te [.] baṃdhana-badhasa paṭividhānāya
7.prajā katābhikāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te [.] **Pāṭalipute** cha bāhiraṃ cha
8.ye vā pi me aṃñe nātikā sarvata vyāpatā te [.] yo ayaṃ dhamma-nisrito ti va
9.te dhamma-mahāmātā [.] etāya athāya ayaṃ dhammalipī likhitā
10.

TRANSLATION.

King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus:-

It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

Therefore (*among*) my sons and grandsons, and (*among*) my descendants (*who shall come*) after them until the aeon of destruction (*of the world*), those who will conform to this (*duty*) will perform good deeds.

But he who will neglect even a portion of this (*duty*) will perform evil deeds.

For sin is easily committed.



In times past (*officers*) called *Mahāmātras* of morality (*Dharma-mahāmātra*) did not exist.

But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (*when I had been*) anointed thirteen years.

These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality.....of those who are devoted to morality even among the **Yōṇas, Kambōjas and Gandhāras, the Rīṣṭikās and Pētēnikas**, and whatever other western borderers (*of mine there are*).

They are occupied with servants and masters for the happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (*and*) in freeing (*them*) from desire (*for worldly life*).

They are occupied in supporting prisoners (*with money*).....(*if one has*) children, or with those who are bewitched (i. e. incurably ill?) or with the aged.

They are occupied everywhere, both in **Pālīputra** and in the outlyingand whatever other relatives of mine (*there are*).

These *Mahāmātras* of morality.....whether one is eager for morality.....

For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written.....

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. देवा.....सि राजा एवं आह [.] अतिक्रातं अंतरं
२. न भूतपुत्र सव..ल अथकमे व पटिवेदना वा [.] त मद्रा एवं कतं [.]
३. सवे काले भुंजमानस मे ओरोधनमिह गभागारमिह वचमिह व
४. विनीतमिह च उयानेसु च सवत्र पटिवेदका स्तिता अथे मे जनस
५. पटिवेदेय इति [.] सर्वत्र च जनस अथे करोमि [.] य च किंचि मुखतो
६. आजपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा स्त्रावापकं वा य वा पुन महामात्रेसु
७. आचायिके अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निज्ञाती व संतो परिसायं
८. आनंतरं पटिवेदेतव्यं मे सर्वत्र सर्वे काले [.] एवं मया आजपितं [.] नास्ति हि मे तोसो
९. उस्टानमिह अथसंतीरणाय व [.] कतव्यमते हि मे सर्वलोकहितं [.]
१०. तस च पुन एस मूले उस्टानं च अथसंतीरणा च [.] नास्ति हि कमतरं
११. सर्वलोकहितत्वा [.] य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनंणं गच्छेयं
१२. इध च नानि सुखापयामि परत्रा च स्वगं आराधयंतु त [.] एताय अथाय
१३. अयं धंमलिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिस्टेय इति तथा च मे पुत्रा पोता च प्रपोत्रा च
१४. अनुवतरं सवलोकहिताय [.] दुकरं तु इदं अजत्र अगेन पराक्रमेन



ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. **Devā.....si rājā** evaṃ āha [.] atikrātaṃ aṃtaraṃ
2. na bhūta-pruva sava...la atha-kamme va paṭivedanā vā [.] ta mayā evaṃ kataṃ [.]
3. save kāle bhūṃjamānasa me orodhanamhi gabhāgāramhi vachanhi va
4. vinītamhi cha uyānesu cha savatra paṭivedakā sītā athe me janasa
5. paṭivedetha iti [.] sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi [.] ya cha kiñchi mukhato
6. āñapayāmi svayaṃ dāpakam vā srāvāpakam vā ya vā puna mahāmātresu
7. āchāyi[ke] aropitaṃ bhavati tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī va saṃto parisāyaṃ
8. ānaṃtaraṃ paṭivedetavyaṃ me sarvatra sarve kāle [.] evaṃ mayā āñapitaṃ [.] nāsti hi me toso
9. uṣṭānamhi atha-saṃtīraṇāya va [.] katavya-mate hi me sarva-loka-hitam [.]
10. tasa cha puna esa mūle uṣṭānam cha atha-saṃtīraṇā cha [.] nāsti hi kammataram
11. sarva-loka-hitatpā [.] ya cha kiñchi parākramāmi ahaṃ kiṃti bhūtānam ānaṃnam gachheyaṃ
12. idha cha nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā cha svagam ārādhayaṃtu ta [.] etāya athāya
13. ayaṃ dhamma-lipī lekhaṇitā kiṃti chiram tiṣṭeya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha prapotrā cha
14. anuvataṃ sava-loka-hitāya [.] dukaram tu idaṃ aṇatra agena parākramena [.]

TRANSLATION.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus:—

In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist.

But I have made the following (*arrangement*):—

Reporters are posted everywhere, (*with instructions*) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the women's apartments, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks.

And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

And if in the council (*of Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connection with any donation or proclamation which I myself am

ordering verbally, or (*in connection with*) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (*and*) at any time.

Thus I have ordered.

For I am never content in exerting myself and in despatching business.

For I consider it my duty to promote the welfare of all men.

But the root of that (*is*) this, (*viz.*), exertion and the despatch of business.

For no duty is more important than (*promoting*) the welfare of all men.

And whatever effort I am making, (*is made*) in order that I may discharge the debt (*which I owe*) to living beings (*that*) I may make them happy in this (*world*), and (*that*) they may attain heaven in the other (*world*).

Now for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (*viz.*), that it may last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may conform to this for the welfare of all men.

But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा सर्वत इच्छति सवे पासंडा वसेयु [.] सवे ते सयमं च
२. भावसुधिं च इच्छति [.] जनो तु उचावचछंदो उचावचरागो [.] ते सर्वं व कासंति एकदेसं व कसंति [.]
३. विपुले तु पि दाने यस नास्ति सयमे भावसुधिता व कतंजता व ददभतिता च निचा बाढं

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. **Devānāṃpiyo Piyadasi** rājā sarvata ichhati save pāsamḍā vaseyu [.] save te sayamaṃ cha
2. bhāva-sudhiṃ cha ichhati [.] jano tu uchāvacha-chhaṇdo uchāvacharāgo [.] te sarvaṃ va kāsanti eka-desam va kasanti [.]
3. vipule tu pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va katamñatā va dadhabhātītā cha nichā bādham

TRANSLATION.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (*that*) all sects may reside everywhere.

(For) all these desire both self-control and purity of mind.

But men possess various desires (*and*) various passions.

Either they will fulfil the whole, or they will fulfil (*only*) a portion (*of their duties*).

But even one who (*practises*) great liberality, but does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm devotion is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. अतिकृतं अंतरं राजानो विहारयातां अयासु [.] एत मगव्या अजानि च एतारिसनि
२. अभीरमकानि अहुंसु [.] सो देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा दसवर्साभिसितो संतो अयाय संबोधि [.]
३. तेनेसा धमयाता [.] एतयं होति बाम्हणसमणानं दसणे च दाने च थेरानं दसणे च
४. हिरंगपटिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्पनं धमानुसस्ठी च धमपरिपुछ च
५. तदोपया [.] एसा भुय रति भवति देवानंपियस प्रियदसिनो राजो भागे अंजे

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. Atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ rājāno vihāra-yātāṃ ñayāsu [.] eta magavyā añāni cha etārisani
2. abhīramakāni ahumsu [.] so **Devānāṃpriyo Piyadasi rāja** dasa-varsābhisito samto ayāya **Sambodhiṃ** [.]
3. tenesā dhamma-yātā [.] etayaṃ hoti Bāmhāṇa-Samaṇānaṃ dasaṇe cha dāne cha thairānaṃ dasaṇe cha
4. hiraṃṇa-paṭivīdhāno cha jānapadasa cha janasa daspanāṃ dhammānusasṭhi cha dhama-paripucchā cha
5. tadopayā [.] eṣā bhuya rati bhavati **Devānāṃpiyasa Priyadasino rāṇo** bhāge aṃñe

TRANSLATION.

In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-tours.

On these (*tours*) hunting and other such pleasures were (*enjoyed*).

But when **king Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed ten years, he went to **Sambodhi**.

Therefore these tours of morality (*were undertaken*).

On these (*tours*) the following takes place, (*viz.*), visiting Brāhmaṇas and Sramaṇas and making gifts (*to them*), visiting the aged and supporting (*them*) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (*them*) in morality, and questioning (*them*) about morality, as suitable for this (*occasion*).

This second period (*of the reign*) of **king Devānāṃpriya Priyadarśin** becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.



NINTH ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. देवानंपियो प्रियदसि राजा एव आह [.] अस्ति जनो उचावचं मंगलं करोते आवाधेसु वा
 २. आवाहवीवाहेसु वा पुत्रलाभेसु वा प्रवासंमि वा एतमही च अजमि च जनो उचावचं
 मंगलं करोते [.]
 ३. एत तु महिडायो बहुकं च बहुविधं च छुदं च निरयं च मंगलं करोते [.] त कतव्यमेव तु
 मंगलं [.] अपफले तु खो
 ४. एतरिसं मंगलं [.] अयं तु महाफले मंगले य धंममंगले [.] ततेत दासभतकमिह सम्यप्रतिपती
 गुरूने अपचिति साधु
 ५. पाणेसु सयमो साधु बम्हणसमणानं साधु दानं एत च अज च एतारिसं धंममंगलं नाम [.] त
 वतव्यं पिता व
 ६. पुतेन वा भ्रात्रा वा स्वामिकेन वा इदं साधु इदं कतव्य मंगलं आव तस अयस निस्तानाय [.]
 अस्ति च पि वुतं
 ७. साधु दन इति [.] न तु एतारिसं अस्ता दानं व अनगहो व यारिसं धंमदानं व धमनुगहो व [.]
 त तु खो मित्रेन व सुहृदयेन वा
 ८. अतिकेन व सहायन व ओवादित्तव्यं तमिह तमिह पकरणे इदं कचं इदं साधु इति इमिना सक
 ९. स्वगं आराधेतु इति [.] कि च इमिना कतव्यतरं यथा स्वगारधी [.]

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. **Devānaṃpiyo Priyadasi rājā** eva āha [.] asti jano uchāvacham
maṃgalaṃ karote ābādhesu vā
2. āvāha-vivāhesu vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsammi vā etamhi cha
añamhi cha jano uchāvacham maṃgalaṃ karote [.]
3. eta tu mahidāyo bahukam cha bahavidham cha chhudam cha
nirath(m) cha maṃgalaṃ karote [.] ta katavyameva tu
maṃgalaṃ [.] apa-phalam tu kho
4. etarisaṃ maṃgalaṃ [.] ayam tu mahāphale maṃgale ya dhamma-
maṃgale [.] tateta dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipatī gurūnaṃ
apachiti sādhu
5. pāṇesu sayamo sādhu Bamaṇa-Samaṇa sāindhu dānaṃ et[a]
cha aña cha etarisaṃ dhamma-maṃgalaṃ nāma [.] ta vatavyam
pitā va
6. putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā idam sādhu idam katavya
maṃgalaṃ āva tasa athasa niṣṭānāya [.] asti cha pi vutam
7. sādhu dana iti [.] na tu etarisaṃ astā dānaṃ va anagaho va yārisaṃ
dhamma-dānaṃ va dhamanugaho va [.] ta tu kho mitrena va suha-
dayena vā



8. ñatikenā va sahāyana va ovādītavyam tamhi tamhi pakarane idam kacham idam sādha iti iminā saka
9. svagam ārādhetu iti [.] ki cha iminā katavyataram yathā svagāradhī [.]

TRANSLATION.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus:—

Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter, or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey; on these and other (*occasions*) men are practising various ceremonies.

But in such (*cases*) women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

But ceremonies like these bear little fruit indeed.

But the following practice bears much fruit, viz., the practice of morality.

Herein the following (*are comprised*), (*viz.*) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (*and*) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; these and other such (*virtues*) are called the practice of morality.

Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (*desired*) object is attained’

And it has been said also:—‘Gifts are meritorious’.

But there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality or the benefit of morality.

Therefore, a friend, or a well-wisher, or a relative, or a companion should indeed admonish (*another*) on such and such an occasion:—‘This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (*practice*) it is possible to attain heaven.’

And what is more desirable than this, viz., the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. देवानंपियो प्रियदत्ति राजा यसो व कीर्ति व न महाश्रावहा मज्जे अजत तदात्पनो दिवाय च मे जनो
२. धम्मसुसुंसा सुसुसता धम्मवुत्तं च अनुविधियतां [.] एतकाय देवानंपियो प्रियदत्ति राजा यसो व कीर्ति व इच्छति [.]

३. यं तु किञ्चि परिक्रमते देवानं प्रियदत्ति राजा त सर्वं पारत्रिकाय किञ्चि सकले अपपरिस्त्रवे अस [.]
 एस तु परिसवे य अपुञ्जं [.]
४. दुकरं तु खो एतं छुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अत्रत्र अगेन पराक्रमेन सर्वं परिचजित्वा [.] एत
 तु खो उसटेन दुकरं [.]

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. **Devānāmpriyo Priyadasi rājā** yaso va kīti va na mahāthāvahā mañate añata tadātpano dighāya cha me jano
2. dhamma-susruṃsā susrusatā dhamma-vutaṃ cha anuvīdhiyatāṃ[.] etakāya **Devānāmpriyo Priyadasi rājā** yaso va kīti va i[cca]ti [.]
3. yaṃ tu kich[i] parikamate **Devānā[m]priyo*** **Priyadasi rājā** ta savāṃ pāratrikāya kintī sakale apa-parisrave asa [.] esa tu parisave ya apumñāṃ [.]
4. dukaraṃ tu kho etaṃ chhudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra aṇa parāk[r]amena savāṃ parichajitpā [.] et[a] t[u] kho usaṭena dukaraṃ[.]

TRANSLATION.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except (*on account of his aim that*) in the present time, and in the distant (*future*) men may (*be induced*) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.

On this (account) **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is desiring glory and fame.

But whatever effort **king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** is making, all that (*is*) for the sake of (*merit*) in the other (*world*), (*and*) in order that all (*men*) may run little danger.

But the danger is this, viz., demerit.

But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (*and without*) laying aside every (*other aim*).

But among these (*two*) it is indeed (*more*) difficult to accomplish for a high (*person*).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. देवि(वा)नं प्रियो प्रियदत्ति राजा एवं आह [.] नास्ति एतारिसं दानं यारिसं धमदानं धमसंस्तवो
 वा धमसंविभागो व धमसंबंधो व [.]

२. तत इदं भवति दासभक्तकम्हि सम्यप्रतिपत्ती मातरि पित[रि] साधु सुखसा मितसस्तुतजातिकानं
बाम्हणस्त्रमणानं साधु दानं
३. प्राणानं अनारम्भो साधु [.] एत वतव्यं पिता व पुत्रेन व भाता व मितसस्तुतजातिकेन च आव
पटीवेसियेहि इदं साधु इदं कतव्यं [.]
४. सो तथा करु इलोकचस आरधो होति परत च अनंतं पुइजं भवति तेन धंमदानेन [.]

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. **Devi(ā)nānpriyo Piyadasi rājā** ev[a]m āha [.] nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ
yārisaṃ dhamma-dānaṃ dhamma-saṃstavo vā dhamma-saṃvibhāgo
[vā] dhamma-saṃbhaṃdho va [.]
2. tata idaṃ bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipatī mātari pitar[i]
sādhū sus[r]usā mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṃ Bāmaṇa-S[r]amaṇā-
[naṃ] sādhū dā[naṃ]
3. prāṇānaṃ anāraṃbho sādhū [.] eta vatavyaṃ pitā va putrena va bhāt-
[ā] va mita-sastut[a]ñāt[i]k[e]na va āva paṭivesiyehi idaṃ sādhū ida
ka[tav]ya[m] [.]
4. so t[a]thā karu ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha aññamaṃtaṃ
puññaṃ bhavati tena dhamma-dānena[.]

TRANSLATION.

King Devānānpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus :-

There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality, or kinship through morality.

Herein the following are (*comprised*), (*viz.*) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (*and*) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (*and*) abstention from killing animals.

Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (*or*) even (*mere*) neighbours, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

If one is acting thus the attainment of (*happiness*) in this world is (*secured*), and endless merit is produced in the other (*world*) by that gift of morality.



TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. देवानंपिये पियदसि राजा सवपासंडानि च पवजितानि च घरस्तानि च पूजयति दानेन च वि(वि)धाय च पूजाय पूजयति ने [.]
२. न तु तथा दानं व पूजा व देवानंपियो मंजते यथा किति सारवदी अस सवपासंडानं [.] सारवदी तु बहुविधा [.]
३. तस तु इदं मूलं य वचिगुती किति आत्पपासंडपूजा व परपासंडगरहा व नो भवे अप्रकरणमिह लहुका व अस
४. तमिह तमिह प्रकरणे [.] पूजेतया तु एव परपासंडा तेन[ते]न प्रकरणेन [.] एवं करं आत्पपासंडं च वटयति परपासंडस च उपकरोति[.]
५. तदंजया करोतो आत्पपासंडं च छणति परपासंडस च पि अपकरोति[.] यो हि कोचि आत्पपासंडं पूजयति परपासंडं वा गरहति
६. सवं आत्पपासंडभतिया किति आत्पपासंडं दीपयेम इति सो च पुन तथ करातो आत्पपासंडं बाढतरं उपहनाति[.] त समवायो एव साधु
७. किति अजमंजस धंमं सुणारु च सुसुंसेर च [.] एवं हि देवानंपियस इच्छा किति सवपासंडा बहुसुता च असु कलाणागमा च असु [.]
८. ये च तत्र तत प्रसंना तेहि वतव्यं [.] देवानंपियो नो तथा दानं व पूजां व मंजते यथा किति सारवदी अस सर्वपासंडानं [.] बहका च एताय
९. अथा व्यापता धंममहामाता च इथीशखमहामाता च वचभूमीका च अजे च निकाया[.] अयं च एतस फल य आत्पपासंडवदी च होति धंमस च दीपना [.]

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. **Devānampiye piyad[a]si rājā** sava-pāsaṃdāni cha [pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni cha pūjayati d[ā]nena cha vi[vi]dhāya cha pūjāya pūjayati ne [.]
2. na tu tathā dānaṃ va pū[jā] va **D[e]vānampiyo** maṃñate yathā kiti sāra-vaḍhī asa sa[va-pā]saṃdānaṃ [.] sār[a]-vaḍhī tu bahuvidhā [.]
3. tasa tu idaṃ mūlaṃ ya vachi-guṭī kimti ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-pūjā va para-pāsaṃḍa-garahā va no bhava aprakaraṇamhi lahukā va asa
4. tamhi tamhi prakaraṇe [.] pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsaṃḍā tena [te]na prakaraṇena [.] evaṃ karuṃ ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ cha vaḍhayati parapāsaṃḍasa cha upakaroti [.]
5. tad-aṃñathā karoto ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ cha chhaṇati para-pāsaṃḍasa cha pi apakaroti [.] yo hi kochi ātpa-pāsaṃḍaṃ pūjayati para-pāsaṃḍaṃ v[a] garahati

6. savam ātpa-pāsaṁḍa-bhatiyā kiṁti ātpa-pāsaṁḍam dīpayema iti so cha puna tatha karāto ātpa-pāsaṁḍa[m] bāḍhataram upahanāti [.] ta samavāyo eva sādhu
7. kiṁti [a]ñnamaiñṇasa dhammam sruṇāru cha susumsera cha [.] evam hi **D[e]vānāmpriya** ichhā kiṁti sava-pāsaṁḍā bahu-srutā cha, asu kal[ā]ṇagamā cha asu [.]
8. ye cha tatra tata prasamṇā tehi vatavyam [.] **Devānāmpriyo** no tathā dānam va pūjām va mamñate yathā kiṁti sāra-vaḍhi asa sarva-pāsaḍanam [.] bahakā cha etāya
9. athā vyāpatā dhamma-mahāmātā cha ithījhakhamahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmikā cha añe cha nikāyā [.] ayaṁ cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsaṁḍavaḍhi cha hoti dhammasa cha dip[a]nā [.]

TRANSLATION.

King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects, both ascetics and householders; both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them.

But **Devānāmpriya** does not value either gifts or honours so (*highly*) as (*this*), (viz.) that the promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

But the promotion of the essentials (is *possible*) in many ways.

But its root is this, viz., guarding (*one's*) speech, (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (*that*) it should be moderate in every case.

But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case.

If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects.

If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and wronging other sects as well.

For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects—all (*this*) out of devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

Therefore, concord alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

For this is the desire of **Devānāmpriya**, (viz.) that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

And those who are attached to their respective (*sects*) ought to be spoken to (*as follows*).

Devānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (*highly*) as (*this*), (viz.) that the promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.



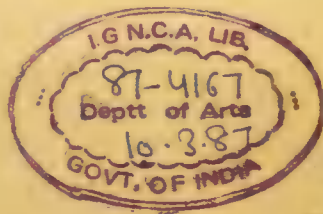
And many (*officers*) are occupied for this purpose, (*viz.*) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (*of officials*).

And this is the fruit of it:— the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality also takes place.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१.ओ कलिंगा वज.....वढे सतसहस्रमात्रं
तत्रा हतं बहुतावतकं मत [.] तता पछा अधुना लधेसु कलिंगेमु तीवो धंमवायो
२.सयो देवानंप्रियस वज.....वधो व मरणं व
अपवाहो व जनस त बाढं वेदनमत च गुरुमत च देवानंपि..स
३.वाम्हणा व समणा व अजे.....सा मात्रि पितरि
सुसुंसा गुरुसुसुंसा मितसंस्ततसहायजातिकेसु दासभ.....
४.अभिरतानं व विनिखमण [.] येसं वा पहायजातिका
व्यसनं प्राप्नुणति तत सो पि तेस उपघातो हाति [.] पटीभागो चेसा सव.....
५.स्ति इमे निकाया अजत्र योनेसुम्हि यत्र
नास्ति मानुसानं एकतरम्हि पासंडम्हि न नाम प्रसादो [.] यावतको जनो तदा
६.स्रभागो व गुरुमतो देवानं न य सक
छमितवे [.] या च पि अटवियो देवानंपियस पिजिते पाति
७.चते तेसं देवानंपियससवभूतानां
अछर्ति च सयमं च समचैरं च मादव च
८.लधो.....नंप्रियस इध सवेसु च.....योनराज
परं च तेन चत्पारो राजानो तुरमायो च अंतेकिन च मगा च
९.इध राजविसयम्हि योनकंवोध्रपारिंदेसु
सवत देवानंपियस धंमानुसर्स्ट अनुवतरे [.] यत पि दूति
१०.नं धमानुसर्स्ट च धमं अनुविधियरे.....विजयो
सवथा पुन विजयो पीतिरसो सा [.] लधा सा पीती होति धंमवीजयम्हि
११.प्रियो [.] एताय अयाय अयं धंम[लि].....वं विजयं
मा विजेतव्यं मंजा सरसके एव विजये छाति च
१२.किको च पारलोकिको.....इलोकिका
च पारलोकिका च



ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

- 1**ño Kaliṅgā** [vaja]..... [va. dh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātram
tatrā hataim bahu-tāvatakarim mata [·] tatā pachhā adh[u]nā **adhesu**
Kaliṅgesu ti[v]o dhammavāyo
- 2[sa]yo **Devānāmpriyasa** [vaja].....[va]dho vā maraṇāṁ va
apavāho va janasa ta bādham vedana-mata cha g[u]r[u]-mata cha
Devā[nāmpi]. [sa]
3.Bāmhaṇā va Samaṇā va añe.....[s]ā mātr[i] pitari susumisā
guru-susumisā mita-saṁstata-sahāya-ñātike[su] dāsa-[bha].....
4.abhiratānaṁ va vinikhamāṇa [·] yesaṁ vā [pa.].....[h]āya-
ñātikā vyasanāṁ prāpuṇati tata so pi tesa [u]paghāto hāti [·] paṭibhā[g]o
chesā [s]ava.....
5.sti ime nikāyā añatra **Yone[su]**.....[mh]i yatra nāsti mānusa-
naṁ ekataramhi pāsāṁdamhi na nāma prasā[d]o [·] y[ā]va'a[k]o [i]ano
tad[ā]
6.sra-bhāgo va garu-mat[o] **Devānaṁ**.....na ya saka chhami-
tave [·] yā cha pi aṭaviyo **D[e]vānāmpiya[s]** pijite pāti
7.chate te[s]aṁ **Devānāmpriyasa**.....sava-bhūtānaṁ acchatim
cha sayamaṁ cha samachairam ch[a] mādava cha
8. [la]dh[o]....**nāmpriyasa** idha [sa]vesu [ch].....[**Yo**]na-rāja paraṁ cha
tena **chatpūro rājāno Turamāyo** cha [**A**]nt[ek]ina cha **Magā cha**
9.idha rāja-vi[sa]yamhi [**Y**]o[na]-**Kambo**.....**indhra-**
Pāriṇdesu savata **Devānāmpriyasa** dhammānus[a]stīm anuv[a]tare
[·] yata pi dūti
10.[na]ṁ dhamānusastīm cha dhamam anuvīdhiyare.....[v]ijayo
savathā puna vijayo pīti-raso sā [·] ladhā sā pīti hoti dhamma-vijayamhi
11.**m[p]riyo** [·] etā[ya] athā[ya] ayāṁ dhamma-[li]...[va]ṁ vijayam
mā vijetavyam māññā sarasake eva vijaye chhāti cha
12. kik[o] ch[a pā]r[alo]ki[ko].....ilokikā cha pāralokikā cha

TRANSLATION.

.....the **Kaliṅgas**.....

.....one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain
there, (and) many times as many those who died.

After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, a zealous
study of morality.....(the repentance) of **Devānāmpriya**.....slaughter,
death, and deportation of people, this is considered very painful and deplorable
by **Devānāmpriya**.



.....Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, (or) other.....obedience to mother (and) to father, obedience to elders..... to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, (to) slaves.....or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

.....(Companions) and relatives are then incurring misfortune, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons).

This is shared (by) all.....these classes.....except among the Yonas
.....where men are not indeed attached to some sect.

As many people as at that time.....part is considered deplorable by (Devānāmpriya).

.....what can be forgiven.

And even the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Devānāmpriya.....

• They are (told).....of Devānāmpriya.....towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, impartiality, and kindness.

.....has been won by [Devā]nāmpriya here and among all.....the Yona king, and beyond him four kings, (viz.) Turamāya, Antekina, Magā..... here in the king's territory, (among) the Yonas and Kambojas.....among the [Ā]ndhras and Pārindas,—everywhere (people) are conforming to Devānāmpriya's instruction in morality.

• Even where the envoys.....and the instruction in morality, are conforming to morality... ..this conquest—a conquest (won) in every respect (and) repeatedly—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

This satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by mortality.

.....Devānāmpriya.

For the following purpose this (rescript) on morality.....should not think that a (fresh) conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them, mercy.....

.....in the other world.

.....both in this world and in the other world.

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT.

(Left Side).

१.तेषा.....

२.पिपा.....

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1.tesha.....

2.pipā.....

TEXT.

BELOW THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT.

(Right Side.).

.....वस्वेतो हस्ति सर्वलोकसुखाहरो नाम

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

.....rva-sveto hasti sarva-loka-sukhāharo nāma

TRANSLATION.

.....the entirely white elephant bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT.

TEXT.

१. अयं धम्मलिपी देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता अस्ति एव
२. संखितेन अस्ति मज्झमेन अस्ति विस्ततन [.] न च सर्वं सर्वत घटितं [.]
३. महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव [.] अस्ति च एत कं
४. पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अथस माधूरताय किति जनो तथा पटिपजेथ [.]
५. तत्र एकदा असमातं लिखितं अस देसं व सच्चाय कारणं व
६. अलोचेत्पा लिपिकरापरधेन व

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. Ayam dhamma-lipī **Devānāmpriyena Priyadasinā** r(ā)nā lekhāpitā asti eva
2. saṁkhitena asti majhamena asti vistatana [.] na cha sarvaṁ sarvata ghaṭitaṁ [.]
3. mahālake hi vijitaṁ bahu cha likhitaṁ likhāpayisaṁ cheva [.] asti cha eta kaṁ
4. puna puna vutaṁ tasa tasa athasa mād'hūratāya kiṁti jano tathā paṭipajetha [.]
5. tatra ekadā asamāt[a]ṁ likhita[m] asa desaṁ va sachhāya [kā]-raṇaṁ va
6. alochetpā lipikarāparadhena va

TRANSLATION.

These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by **king-Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (*form*), or of middle (*size*) or at full length.

And the whole was not suitable everywhere.

For (*my*) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (*more*) to be written.

And some of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (*and*) in order that men should act accordingly.

In some instances (*some*) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (*my*) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

THE INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADAMAN.

This inscription is incised on the western side near the top of the rock. It contains twenty lines of well-engraved writing covering a space of about 11'-1" broad by 5'-5" high. Only the last four lines are fully preserved and the remaining ones are badly damaged, owing to which circumstance a good deal of the record has been entirely lost.

It is written in **Sanskrit** prose and in characters which were the precursors of the South Indian alphabets. Its object is to record the restoration, by the *Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman*, of the lake **Sudarśana** near which it was engraved. This lake, it tells us, was originally constructed during the reign of the **Maurya Emperor Chandragupta** and was perfected under the command of his grandson, the **Great Aśoka**. It was destroyed by a storm during the reign of Rudradāman and the whole of its water flowed out. Owing to this circumstance the lake became *durdarśana* or 'ugly to look at', in place of being *sudarśana* or 'beautiful to look at'. **Rudradāman** got it restored through the provincial Governor **Suviśakha** and made it more beautiful than it was originally. The record gives a vivid account of the storm by which the lake and the surrounding country were devastated and possesses considerable historical value in that it supplies the genealogy of the king *Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman* and recounts the great exploits through which he gained several territories like **Anarta**, **Saurāshtra**, **Aparānta**, etc. Herein we are told that Rudradāman twice routed **Sātakarṇi**, the lord of **Dakṣiṇāpatha**, but did not kill him in consideration of the nearness of his relationship. The storm, we are told, took place **on the first of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in the 72nd year of, probably, the Śaka era**. This date would correspond to the 16th of November, A. D. 150. The inscription was probably written one or two years later.

The Governor **Suviśakha**, we are told, was a **Pahlava** and the son of **Kulaipa**. The official who constructed the lake in the reign of **Chandragupta** was the **Vaiśya Pushyagupta**, and the governor who perfected it was the **Yavana king Tushāspha** who was governing the province under **Aśoka**, the great Maurya Emperor.

According to the description given in the inscription **Girinagara**, the hill-city, would be the earlier name of the town of Jūnāgaḍh or rather of its ancient representative and **Ūrjayat** would be the mountain now called Girnār. The river **Suvarṇasikatā** mentioned in the record is possibly the modern **Sonārskhā**. The name of the other river, viz., **Palāśinī**, mentioned in it, does not survive now.

This is the **earliest known long inscription** in Sanskrit. The earliest short inscription, in pure Sanskrit, known at present is that on the *yūpa* or sacrificial post at Īsāpur near Mathurā, which is dated in the year '24 in the reign of Shāhi Vāśishka. It is however only a few years earlier than the Girnār inscription of **Rudradāman**.

Rudradāman.

Rudradāman I. was the grandson of **Chashāna** the great Satrap under Kadphises II. of the Kushāna dynasty. The exact dates of the various events in his life are not known, but he must have been reigning between 130 and 150 A.D. He was a learned and accomplished prince who raised his house to the position of the leading power in the west. His rule, as shown by the place-names in this inscription, extended over nearly the whole of Western India, and included the country around Cambay and Kāthiāwād, Sind and adjacent portion of Western Rājputānā and the Northern Koṅkaṇa. He annexed Cutch in A. D. 130 and gave his daughter in marriage to **king Vāsishṭhiputra Śrī Puṣumāyi**, though the matrimonial connection did not prevent the great Satrap from twice defeating his son-in-law and taking from him most of the country that his father, **Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi**, had won from the **Kshaharātas**. His capital was at Ujjain, which was described by the ancient geographer Ptolemy (cir. 139 A. D.) as Ozene, the capital of Tiastanes (Chashāna). His victories won for him the title of *Mahākshatrāpa*.

THE INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADĀMAN.

TEXT.

१. सिद्धं [॥*] इदं तडाकं सुदर्शनं नि[गि]नगराद[पि] [दू]रम[न्]त.....[त्ति]-
कोपलविस्तारायामोच्छ्रयनिःसंधिवद्भृदसर्वपालिकत्वात् पर्वतपा-
२. दम्प्रतिस्पद्धि-सुक्लिष्ट[वन्धं]
.....[व]जातेनाकृत्रिमेण सेतुबन्धेनोपपन्नं सुम्प्रतिबिहित-
प्रणालीपरी[वा]ह-
३. मीढविधानं च त्रिस्क[न्ध].....
.....नादिभिरनुग्रहैर्महत्युपचये वर्तते [॥*] तदिदं राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य सुगृही-
४. तनाम्नः स्वामि-चष्टनस्य पौत्र..... : पुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य
गुहभिरभ्यस्तनान्नो रुद्रदाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्ततितमे ७०[+] २

६. मार्गशीर्ष-बहुल-प्रति[पदि]..... : सृष्टवृष्टिना पर्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां
गिरैरूर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता—
७. पलाशिनीप्रभृतीनां नदीनां अतिमात्रोद्बृत्तैर्वैः सेतु[म] [य]माणानुरूपप्रतिकारमपि गिरिशिखरतरुतटाद्यालकोपतल्पद्वार-
शरणोच्छ्रयविध्वंसिना युगनिधनसह—
८. श-परमधोरवो(वे)गेन वायुना प्रमथितसलिलविक्षिप्तजर्जरीकृताव[दी]..... [क्षि]प्ताश्मवृक्षगुल्मलताप्रतानं(म्) आ नदी[त]लादि-
त्युद्घातितमासीत् [।*] चत्वारि हस्तशतानि वा(विं)शदुत्तराण्यायतेन एतावन्त्येव विस्तीर्णेन
९. पंचसप्ततिं हस्तानवगाढेन भेदेन निस्सृतसर्व्वतोयं मरु[ध]न्वकल्पमतिभृशं दुर्द(ई)..... [स्या]यै मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चंद्रगुप्तस्य [रा]ष्ट्रियेण [वै]श्येन पुण्यगुप्तेन
कारितं(म्) अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य ते[न] यवनराजेन तुष[र]स्केनाधिष्ठाय
१०. प्रणालिभिरलंकृतं तत्कारितया च राजानुरूपकृतविधानया तस्मि[न्] भेदे दृष्ट्या प्रनाड्या
विस्[त्]तसे[त्].....णा आ गर्भात्प्रभृत्यविहतसमुदि-
[त]र[र]जलक्ष्मीध[र]णागुणतस्सर्व्वगौरभिमग्न्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन आ प्राणोच्छ्वासा-
त्पुरुषवधनिवृत्तिकृत—
११. सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन अन्यत्र संग्रामेष्वभिमुख्यगतमदृशशत्रुप्रहरणवितरणत्वाविगुणरि[पु]..... तकारुण्येन स्वयमभिगतजनपदप्रणिपति[तायु]—
शरणदेन दस्युव्यालभृगुरोगादिभिरनुपसृष्टपूर्व्वनगरनिगम—
१२. जनपदानां स्ववीर्याजितानामनुक्तसर्व्वप्रकृतीनां पूर्वापरकरावन्त्यनूपनीवृदानत्तंसुगण्डूश्व[भ्र]
[म]रु[क]च्छसिन्धुसौवीरकुङ्कुरापरान्तनिषादादीनां समग्राणां तत्प्रभावाद्य.....त्यैकामविषया[णां] पतिना सर्व्वक्षेत्राविष्कृत—
१३. श्रीरशब्दजातोत्सेकाविधेयानां यौधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सादकेन दक्षिणापथपतेस्सातकर्णेद्विरपि
नी(नि)र्व्याजमवजित्यावजित्य संबन्धाविदूरया अनुत्सादनात्प्राप्तयशसा मा[द]..... [स]विजयेन अष्टराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन यथार्थहस्तो—
१४. च्छूयार्जितोर्जितधर्मानुरागेण शब्दार्थगान्धर्व्वन्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारणधारणविज्ञानप्रयोगा-
वाप्तविपुलकीर्तिना तुरगगजरथचर्यासिचर्मनियुद्धाद्या.....[ति]परबललाघवसौष्ठवक्रियेण अहरहर्दानमानान—
१५. वमानशीलेन स्थूलक्षयेण यथावत्प्राप्तैर्वलिशुल्कभागैः कनकरजतवज्रवैदूर्यग्नौपचयविष्यन्द-
मानकोशेन स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारलंकृतगद्यपद्य..... न
प्रमाणमानोन्मानस्वरगतिवर्णसारसंवादिभिः
१६. परमलक्षणव्यंजनैरुपेतकान्तमूर्तिना स्वयमभिगतमहाक्षत्रपान्ना नरेन्द्रकन्यास्वयंवरा नेकमात्यप्रा-
सश[म्ना] महाक्षत्रपेण रुद्रदाम्ना वर्षसहस्राय गोत्राद्वा.....त्यै धर्मकीर्तिवृद्ध्यै च
अपीडयित्वा करविष्टि—



१६. प्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशा[न्] महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता च कालेन त्रिगुणदृढतरविस्तारायामं सेतुं विधा[य] सर्व्वतटे.....सुदर्शनतरं कारितमिति [।*][अ]स्मिन्नर्थे
१७. महाक्षत्रपस्य मतिसचिवकर्मसचिवैरमात्यगुणसुमुशुकैरप्यतिमहत्वाद्भेदस्यानुत्साहविमुख-
मतिभिः प्रत्याख्यातारम्भं
१८. पुनःसेतुबन्धनैर[ि]श्याद् हाहाभूतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं पार्श्वेन
कृत्स्नानामानर्त्तसुराष्ट्राणां पालनार्थंनियुक्तेन
१९. पह्लवेन कुलैपपुत्रेणामायेन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थधर्मव्यवहारदर्शनैरनुरागमभिवर्धयता
शक्तेन दान्तेनाचपलेनाविस्मितेनानार्येणाहार्येण
२०. स्वधितिष्ठता धर्मकीर्त्तियशांसि भर्तुरभिवर्द्धयतानुष्ठितमिति । (II)

ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

1. Siddham [u*] Idam tadākaṁ **Sudarśanam Girinagarād**=api dūram=anta.....[t]ik-opala-vistār-āyām-ochchhaya-nihsandhi-baddha-dṛḍha-sarvva-pālikatvāt=parvvatapā-
2. da-ppratisparddhi-suslishṭa-[bandha]m.....[va]jāten=akṛitrimena setubandhen=opapannam supprativihita-ppraṇāli-parivāha-
3. mīdhavidhānam cha tri-skan[dha].....n-ādibhir=anugrahair=mahaty=upachaye varttate [i*] Tad=idam rājño mahā-kshatrapasya sugrihi-
4. ta-nāmnah **Svāmi-Chash/anasya** putra.....h putrasya rājño mahākshatrapasya gurubhir=abhyasta-nāmno **Rudradāmno varshe dvisaptatitam[e] 70[+]**2
5. **Mārggaśrsha-bahula prat[i]**.....h śrīṣṭa-vṛṣṭinā parjjanyena ekārṇava-bhūtāyām=iva pṛithivyām kṛtāyām girer=**Ūrjayatah Suvarṇasikatā-**
6. **Palāśini**-prabhṛitinām nadinām atimātr-odvṛittair=vvegaiḥ setum=[a].....[ya]mān-ānurūpa-pratikāram=api giriśikhara-taru-taṭṭālak-opatalpa-dvāra-śaraṇochchhaya-vidhvamsinā yuganidhanasadri-
7. śa-paramaghora-vo(e)gena vāyunā pramathita-salila-vikshipta-jarjarikṛit-āva[di].....[k]sh[il]pt-āśma-vṛikshagulma-latāpratānam ā nad[īta]lā[d]=ity=udghāṭitam=āsīt[i*] Chatvāri has-ta-śatāni viśad[vimśaty]-uttarāṇy=āyatena etāvamty=eva vistṛṇena
8. pañcha-saptatim hastān=avagādhena bhedena nisṛita-sarvva-toyam marudha[n]vakalpam=atibhṛīṣam durd[d]a.....sy=

[ā]rthe **Mauryasya** rājñah **Chāndraguptasya** [r]āshṭriyeṇa [V]-
aiśyena **Pushyaguptena** kāritaṁ **Aśokasya** **Mauryasya** te[na]
Yavanarājena Tush[ā]sphen=ādhishtāya

9. prajālibhir=alāmkṛitaṁ tat-kāritayā cha rājānurūpa-kṛita-vidhānayā
tasmi(in) bhede dṛishṭayā pranādyā vi[stṛi]ta-set[u].....nā
ā garbhāt = prabhṛitty=avihata-samu[dita]rājalakshmi-dh[āra]nā-
guṇatas=sarvva-varṇair=abhiga[m]ya rakshaṇ-ārtha(m) patitve vṛitena
ā prāṇochchhvāsāt=purushavadhanivṛitti-kṛita-
10. satyapratijñena anya[t]ra saṁgrāmeshv=abhimukhāgata-sadṛiṣa-
śatru-praharaṇa-vitarāṇatv-āvigūṇa-ri[pu]ta-kāru-
ṇyena svayamabhigata-janapada-praṇipati[t-āyu]sha-saraṇadena
dasyu-vyāla-mṛiga-rog-ādibhir=anupaśriṣṭapūrvva-nagara-nigama-
11. janapadānām svaviryy-ārjitānām=anurakta-sarvva-prakṛitīnām
pūrvv-āpar-Ākar-āvanty-Anūpanivṛid-Ānartta-Surāsh/ra-S'va-
[bh]ra-[M]aru-[Kach]chha-[S]i[n]dhu-S[au]vira-Kukur - Āpa-
rājita- Nishādādīnām samagrānām tat-prabhāvād=[y]a.....
.....r[ttha]-kāma-vishayānām patinā sarvva-kshatr-āviṣhṛita-
12. viraśabda-jātotsek-āvidheyānām **Yaudheyānām** prasahy=otsādakena
Dakṣhiṇāpatha-pates=Sātakarṇer=dvir=api ni(i)rvyājam=avaji(i)-
tyāvaji(i)tya sambandh-āvidūrayā anutsādanāt=prāpta-yaśasā mā[d]
.....[pta]-vijayena bhrashta-rāja-pratishṭhāpakena
yathārttha-hasto-
13. chchhray-ārjit-orjita-dharm-ānurāgeṇa śabdārttha-gāndharvva-
nyāy-ādyānām vidyānām mahatīnām pāraṇa-dhāraṇa - vijñāna-
prayog-āvāpta-vipula-kirttinā turaga-gaja-rathacharyyāsi-charma
niyuddh-ādyā..... [ti]-para-bala-lāghava-saushṭhava-
kriyeṇa ahar-ahar=ddāna-mān-āna-
14. vāmāna-śīlena sthūlalakṣheṇa yathāvat=prāptair=bali-sulka-bhāgaiḥ
kanaka-rajata-vajra-vaidūrya-ratn-opachaya-vishyandamāna-koṣena
sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-chitra-kānta-śabdasamayodār-ālamkṛita-gad-
ya-padya.....na pramāṇa-mān-onmāna-
svara-gati-varṇṇa-sāra-satv-ādibhiḥ
15. parama-lakṣhaṇa-vyāmjanair=upeta-kānta-mūrttinā svayam-adhi-
gata-mahākshatrpa-nāmnā nareṁdra-kannya-svayāmvar-āneka-
mālya-prāpta-dāmnā mahākshatrapeṇa **Rudradāmnā** varsha-
sahasrāya go-Brāh[m]a.....r[ttha]m dharmma-kīrtti-vṛid-
dhy-artham cha apīdayit[v]ā kara-visṭi-
16. prāṇayakriyābhiḥ paura-janapadam janam svasmāt=kośā[n]
mahatā dhan-augheṇa anātimahatā cha kālena trig[u]ṇa-dṛidhatara-



- vistār-āyāmam setum vidhā[ya] sar[v]va-ta[t]e.....[s]udars-
anatarāṇi kārītām=iti [1*] [a ?]sminn=artthe
17. mahākshatraṇa[s]ya matisachiva-karmasachivair=amātyaguna-sam-
dyuktair=apy=atimahatvād=bhedasy =ānutsāha-vimukha-matibhi[ḥ]
pratyākhyāt-ārambham
18. punaḥsetubandha-nair[ā]śyād=hāhābhūtāsu prajāsu ih=ādhishtāne
paura-jānapada-jan-ānugrah-ārtham pārthivena kṛitsnānām=
Ānartta-Surāshīrān(?)ām pālanārtthan=niyuktena
19. **Pahlavena Kulaipa**-putreṇ=amātyena **Suvisākhena** yathā-
vad=artha-dharma-vyavahāra-darśanair=anurāgam=abhivardhayatā
śaktena dānten=āchapalen=āvismiten=āryyeṇ=āhāryyeṇa
20. svadhitishṭhatā dharma-kirtti-yaśāmsi bhartur=abhivarddhaya=
ānushṭhitam=iti [11*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-2) Be it accomplished. This lake **Sudarsana**, from **Girinagara** (even a long distance ?).....of a structure so well joined as to rival the spur of a mountain, because all its embankments are strong, in breadth, length and height, constructed without gaps, as they are of stone, (clay).....furnished with a natural dam, (formed by ?)....., and with well-provided conduits, drains and weirs (?)......three sections.....by.....and other favours is (now) in an excellent condition.

(Ll. 3-6) This same (lake)—on the **first of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha** in the seventy-second-72nd-year of the king, the **Mahākshatraṇa Rudradāman**, whose name is repeated by the venerable, the son of.....(and) son's son of the king, the **Mahākshatraṇa Lord Chashana** the taking of whose name is auspicious.....when by the clouds pouring with rain, the earth had been converted as it were into one ocean, by the excessively swollen floods of the **Suvarṇasikatā, Palāśini** and other streams of mount **Ūrjayat** the dam....., though proper precautions (were taken), the water churned by a storm which, of a most tremendous fury befitting the end of a mundane period, tore down hill-tops, trees, banks, turrets, upper stories, gates and raised places of shelter-scattered, broke to pieces, (tore apart).....with stones, trees, bushes and creeping plants scattered about, was thus laid open down to the bottom of the river.

(L. 7.) By a breach four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as many broad, (and) seventy-five cubits deep, all the water escaped, so that (the lake), almost like a sandy desert, (became) extremely ugly (to look at).

(L. 8.).....for the sake of.....ordered to be made by th^e Vaisya **Pushyagupta**, the provincial governor of the Maurya King **Chandragupta**; adorned with conduits for **Aśoka** the **Maurya** by the **Yavana king Tushāspa** while governing; and by the conduit ordered to be made by him, constructed in a manner worthy of a king (*and*) seen in that breach, the extensive dam.....

(Ll. 9-15.).....he who, because from the womb he was distinguished by the possession of undisturbed consummate royal fortune, was resorted to by all castes and chosen their lord to protect them; who made, and is true to, the vow to the latest breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except in battles; who (*showed*) compassionnot failing to deal blows to equal antagonists meeting him face to face; who grants protection of life to people repairing to him of their own accord and those prostrating themselves before him; who is the lord of the whole of **eastern and western Akar-āvanti**, the **Anūpa** country, **Anarta**, **Surāsh/ra**, **S'vabhra**, **Maru**, **Kachchha**, **Sindhu-Sauvīra**, **Kukura**, **Aparānta**, **Nishāda** and other territories gained by his own valour, the towns, marts and rural parts of which are never troubled by robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases and the like, where all subjects are attached to him, (*and*) where through his might the objects of (*religion*), wealth and pleasure (*are duly attained*); who by force destroyed the **Yaudheyas** who were loath to submit, rendered proud as they were by having established their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas; who obtained good report because he, in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated **Sātakarṇi**, the lord of **Dakṣiṇāpatha**, on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him; who (*obtained*) victory.....
.....;who reinstates deposed kings; who by the customary raising of his hand (*at the time of dispensing justice*) has earned the strong attachment of *Dharma*; who has attained wide fame by studying and remembering, by the knowledge and practice of, grammar, music, logic and other great sciences; who.....the management of horses, elephants and chariots, (*the use of*) sword and shield, pugilistic combat and other.....the acts of quickness and efficiency of opposing forces; who day by day is in the habit of bestowing presents and honours and eschewing disrespectful treatment; who is bounteous; whose treasury by the tribute, tolls and shares rightfully obtained overflows with an accumulation of gold, silver, diamonds, beryl stones and (*other*) precious things; who.....prose and verse, which are clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned; whose beautiful frame owns the most excellent marks and signs, such as (*auspicious*) length, dimension and height, voice, gait, colour, vigour and strength; who himself has acquired the name of *Mahākshatrāpa*; who has been wreathed with many garlands at the *svayamvaras* of kings' daughters—he, the *Mahākshatrāpa* **Rudradāman**, in order to.....cows and Brāhmaṇas for a thousand years, and to increase his religious merit and fame—without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country by taxes,

forced labour and acts of affection—by (*the expenditure of*) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length.....(*on*) all (*banks*).....(*and so*) had (*this lake*) made (*even*) more beautiful to look at.

(LI. 16-20) When in this matter the *Mahākshatrapa's* counsellors and executive officers, who, though fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to the task (*regarded as*) futile on account of the enormous extent of the breach and opposed the commencement (*of the work*), (*and*) when the people in their despair of having the dam rebuilt were loudly lamenting, (*the work*) was carried out by the minister **Suviśākha**, the son of **Kulaipa**, a **Pahlava**, who for the benefit of the inhabitants of the towns and country had been appointed by the king in this government to rule the whole of **Ānarta** and **Surāshṭra**, (*a minister*) who by his proper dealings and view in things temporal and spiritual increased attachment (*of the people*), who was able, patient, not wavering, not arrogant, upright (*and*) not to be bribed, (*and*) who by his good government increased the spiritual merit, fame and glory of his master.

THE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

This inscription is engraved on the north-west face of the boulder and covers a space of about 10' broad by 7'-3" high. It is in a state of fair preservation, but is not very easy to read as the engraving is not perfect. The characters in which it is written belong to the southern class of alphabets which may be termed the Saurāshṭrī or Kāthiāwādī alphabet of the fifth century of the Christian era. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the opening word *Siddham* and a few words in line 23, the whole record is in verse.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the early Gupta king **Skandagupta** who succeeded in vanquishing the Hūṇas. It tells us that **Skandagupta** appointed a certain **Parīṇadatta** to govern his territories in **Saurāshṭra** or Kāthiāwād who in his turn placed his son **Chakrapālita** in charge of the city (*of Gīrinagara*). Further, it informs us — and this is its main object — that the lake **Sudaršana**, which was formed round the foot of Gīrnār, burst on account of excessive rain in the Gupta year one hundred and thirty-six (A. D. 455-56) at night, on the sixth day of the month of Praushṭhapada (August-September) but **Chakrapālita** repaired the breach by renewing the embankment, after two months' work, in the year one hundred and thirty-seven (A.D. 456-57). The latter portion of the record shows that **Chakrapālita**, son of **Parīṇadatta**, Skandagupta's deputy, erected a Vishṇu temple in the year one hundred and thirty-eight of the same Gupta era (A. D. 457-58) and called it **Chakrabhṛit** (the bearer of the discus), evidently in reference to his own name.

Skandagupta.

Skandagupta was the son and successor of **Kumārāgupta I.** and ascended the throne in A. D. 455. He may well be considered to have been one of the greatest Hindu rulers of ancient India. Even as the crown prince he showed ability in restoring the fortunes of his family by effecting the overthrow of the enemy, the rich and powerful nation named Pushyamitras. The struggle he had to make in routing their hostile army that had endangered the stability of the Gupta Dynasty was so severe that he had to spend one night sleeping on the ground. When he came to the throne the savage Huns, the Hūnas of Sanskrit literature, poured down from the steppes of Central Asia through the north-western passes and carried devastation over the smiling plains and flourishing cities of India. Skandagupta, however, succeeded in inflicting a decisive defeat on them and saved his country from further plunder. The joy he must have felt at his victory over the barbarians is beautifully expressed by the author of the eulogy incised on a column standing at Bhitari in the Ghāzipur district to the east of Benares in the United Provinces, where it is stated that he carried the news of his triumph to his mother 'just as Kṛishṇa, when he had slain his enemies, betook himself to his mother Devaki'. His undisputed possession of the peninsula of Saurāshṭra (Kāthiāwād) is proved by this inscription. This record shows, as stated above, that he appointed as the viceroy of this western portion of his empire an officer named **Parṇadatta** who gave the responsible post of governor of the capital city of Jūnāgaḍh to his own son. The latter distinguished himself by rebuilding the embankment of the lake under the Gīrnār hill, which had burst again in the above-mentioned year of **Skandagupta's** accession. The benevolent work was completed in the following year, and one year later a costly temple of Vishṇu was erected near this lake. Owing to his success in the campaigns he assumed the title of *Vikramāditya*. Towards the close of his royal career he was not very successful. He passed away about the year 467 A. D.

THE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA.

TEXT.

First Part

१. सिद्धं [॥*] श्रियमभिमतभोग्यां नैककालापनीतां त्रिदशपतिमुखार्थं यो बल्लेराजहार । कमल-
निलयनायाः शाश्वतं धाम लक्ष्म्याः
२. स जयति विजितार्त्तिर्विष्णुरस्येतजिष्णुः ॥ तदनु जयति शश्वत् श्रीपरिक्षिप्तवक्षाः स्वभुजजनित-
वीर्यो राजराजाधिराजः । नरपति-
३. भुजगानां मानदर्पोत्फणानां प्रतिकृतिगरुडा[ज्ञां] निर्विषीं चावकर्ता ॥ नृपतिगुणनिकेतः स्कन्दगुप्तः
पृथुश्रीः चतुरुदधिजलान्तां स्फीतपर्यन्तदेशाम् ।

४. अवनिमवनतारियः चकारात्मसंस्थां पितरि सुरसखित्वं प्राप्तवत्यात्मशक्त्या ॥ अपि च जितमेव-
तेन प्रथयति यशसि यस्य रिपवोऽपि आमूलभग्नदर्पा निव.....स्लेच्छदेशेषु ॥
५. क्रमेण बुद्ध्या निपुणं प्रधाय ध्यात्वा च कृत्स्नाङ्गुणदोषहेतून् । व्यपेत्य सर्वान् मनुजेन्द्रपुत्रांलक्ष्मीः
स्वयं यं वरयांचकार ॥ तस्मिन्नृपे शासति नैव कश्चिद्भस्मादपेतो मनुजः प्रजासु ।
६. आतौ दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो दण्ड[यो] न वा यो भृशपीडितः स्यात् ॥ एवं स जित्वा पृथिवीं
समग्रां भग्नाग्रदर्पा[न्] द्विषतश्च कृत्वा । सर्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोघृ(घृ)न् संचिन्तया[म्ना]स
बहुप्रकारम् ॥ स्यात्कोऽनुरूपो
७. मतिमान् विनि(नी)तो मेधास्मृतिभ्यामनपेतभावः । सत्यार्जवौदार्यनयोपपन्नो माधुर्यदाक्षिण्यशो-
न्वितश्च ॥ भक्तोनुरक्तो नृविशेषयुक्तः सर्वोपधाभिश्च विशुद्धबुद्धिः । आनृण्यभावोपगतान्तरात्माः
(ःमा) सर्वस्य लोकस्य हिते प्रवृत्तः ॥
८. न्यायार्जनेऽर्थस्य च कः समर्थः स्यादर्जितस्याप्यथ रक्षणे च । गोपायितस्यापि [च] वृद्धिहेतौ वृद्धस्य
पात्रप्रतिपादनाय ॥ सर्वेषु भृत्येष्वपि संहतेषु यो मे प्रशिष्यान्निखिलान् सुराष्ट्रान् । आं ज्ञातमेकः
खलु पर्णदत्तो भारस्य तस्योद्वहने समर्थः ॥
९. एवं विनिश्चित्य नृपाधिपेन नैकानहोरात्रगणान्स्वमत्या । यः संनियुक्तोऽर्थनया कथञ्चित्सम्यक्
सुराष्ट्रावनिपालनाय ॥ नियुज्य देवा वरुणं प्रतीच्यां स्वस्था यथा नोन्मनसो बभूवुः ।]
पूर्वैतरस्यां दिशि पर्णदत्तं नियुज्य राजा धृतिमांस्तथाभूत् ॥
१०. तस्यात्मजो ह्यात्मजभावयुक्तो द्विधेव चात्मात्मवशेन नीतः । सर्वात्मनामेव च रक्षणीयो नित्यात्म-
वानात्मजकान्तरूपः । ॥ रूपाणुरूपैर्ललितैर्विचित्रैः (र) नित्यप्रमोदान्वितसर्वभावः । प्रबुद्धपद्माकर-
पद्मवक्त्रो नृणां शरण्यः शरणागतानाम् । ॥
११. अभवद्भुवि चक्रपालितोऽसाविति नाम्ना प्रथितः प्रियो जनस्य । स्वगुणैरनुपस्कृतैरुदात्तैः पितरं
यश्च विशेषयांचकार । ॥ क्षमा प्रभुत्वं विनयो नयश्च शौर्यं विना शौर्यमह(१)र्ष्वनं च । वाक्यं दमो
दानमदीनता च दाक्षिण्यमानृण्यमशून्यता च । ॥ सौंदर्यमार्येतरनिग्रहश्च अविस्मयो धैर्यमुदीर्णता च
१२. इत्येवमेतेऽतिशयेन यस्मिन्नविप्रवासेन गुणा वसन्ति । ॥ न विद्यतेऽसौ सकलेपि लोके यत्रोपमा
तस्य गुणैः क्रियेत । स एव कात्स्न्येन गुणान्वितानां बभूव नृ(नृ)णामुपमानभूतः । ॥ इत्येवमे-
तानधिकानतोऽन्याङ्गुणाऽपरीक्ष्य स्वयमेव पित्रा । यः संनियुक्तो नगरस्य रक्षां विशिष्य पूर्वान्प्रचकार
सम्यक् । ॥
१३. आश्रित्य वि(वी)र्यं सुमुजद्वयस्य स्वस्थैव नान्यस्य नरस्य दर्प(म्) । नोद्वेजयामास च कंचिदेवमस्मिन्पुरे
चैव शशास दुष्टाः (न) । ॥ विश्रंभमल्पे न शशाम योऽस्मिन् काले न लोकेषु सनागरेषु । यो
लालयामास च पौरवर्गान् [- - -] पुत्रान्परीक्ष्य दोषान् । ॥ संरंजयां च प्रकृतीर्बभूव
पूर्वस्मिताभाषणमानदानैः ।
१४. निर्यत्रगान्योन्यगृहप्रवेशैः [] संवर्द्धितप्रीतिगृहोपचारैः । ॥ ब्रह्मण्यभावेन परेण युक्तः शक्तः
शुचिर्दानपरो यथावत् । प्राप्यान्सकाले विषयान्सिषेवे धर्मार्थयोश्चा[प्य]विरोधनेन । ॥ यो
[- - - -] पर्णदत्तात्स न्यायवानत्र किमस्ति चित्रम् । मुक्ताकलापाम्बुजपद्मशीता-
चंद्रात्किमुष्णं भविता कदाचित् । ॥



१५. अथ क्रमेणाबुदकाल आगते निदाघकालं प्रविदार्य तोयदैः । वर्षर्ष तोयं बहु संततं चिरं सुदर्शनं येन बिभेद चाचिरात् । (II) संवत्सराणामधिके शते तु त्रिंशद्भिरन्यैरपि षड्भिरेव । सत्रौ दिने प्रौष्ठपदस्य षष्ठे गुप्तप्रकाले गणनां विधाय । (II)

१६. इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनिर्गता[ः] पलाशिनीयं सिकताविलासिनी । समुद्रकान्ताः चिरबन्धनोषिताः पुनः पतिं शास्त्रयथोचितं ययुः । (II) अवैक्ष्य वर्षागमजं महोद्भ्रमं महोदधेरुज्जयता प्रियेषुना । अनेकेतीरान्तजपुष्पशोभितो

१७. नदीमयो हस्त इव प्रसारितः । (II) विषाद्यमानाः खलु सर्वतो ज]नाः कथंकथं कार्यमिति प्रवादिनः मिथो हि पूर्वापररात्रमुत्थिता विचिन्तयां चापि बभूवुरुत्सुकाः । (II) अपीह लोके सकले सुदर्शनं पुमां(न्)हि दुर्दर्शनतां गतं क्षणात् ।

१८. भवेन्नु साम्भोनिधित्वदर्शनं सुदर्शनं [- - - - -] [II] [- - - - -] वणे स भूत्वा पितुः परां भक्तिमपि प्रदर्श्य । धर्मं पुरोधाय शुभानुबन्धं राज्ञो हिताय नगरस्य चैव (II) संवत्सराणामधिके शते तु

१९. त्रिंशद्भिरन्यैरपि सप्तमिश्र । प्र [- - - - -] शास्त्रचेत्ता विश्वोप्यनु ज्ञातमहाप्रभवः । (II) आज्यप्रणामैः विबुधानथेष्ट्वा धनैर्द्विजातीनपि तर्पयित्वा । पौरास्तथाभ्यर्च्य यथार्हमानैः भृत्यांश्च पूज्यान्सुहृदश्च दानैः । (II)

२०. ग्रैष्मस्य मासस्य तु पूर्वपक्षे [- - - - - प्रथमेहि सम्यक् । मासद्वयेनादरवान् स भूत्वा धनस्य कृत्वा व्ययमप्रमेयम् । (II) आयामतो हस्तशतं समग्रं विस्तारतः पश्चिण्यापि चाष्टौ ।

२१. उत्सेधतो न्यत्पुरुषाणि सप्त (?) [- - - - - ह] स्तशतद्वयस्य (II) बबन्ध यत्नान्महता नृदेवान् [अभ्यर्च्य ?] सम्यग्घटितोपलेन । अजातिदुष्टप्रथितं तटाकं सुदर्शनं शाश्वतकल्पकालम् । (II)

२२. अपि च सुदृढसेतुप्रान्तविन्यस्तशोभयचरणसमाह्वकौ च हंसासधूतम् । विमलसलिल [- - - - -] भुवि त [- - - - -] दार्कः शशी च । (II)

२३. नगरमपि च भूयाद् वृद्धिमत्पौरजुष्टं द्विजबहुशतगीतब्रह्मनिर्नष्टपापं । शतमपि च समानामीतिदुर्भिक्ष [- - - - -] [II] [इति सुद-] र्शनतटाकसंस्कारप्रथरचना [स] माप्ता ॥

Second Part.

२४. दृष्टारिदर्पप्रणुदः पृथुश्रियः स्वव(वं)ङ्ग(श)केतोः सकलावनीपतेः । राजाधिराज्याद्भुतपुण्य[कर्मणः] [- - - - -] [II] [- - - - -] द्वीपस्य गोप्ता महतां च नेता दण्डद्वि [? -] नां

२५. द्विषतां दमाय । (II) तस्यात्मजेनात्मगुणान्वितेन गोविन्दपादार्पितजीवितेन । [- - - - -] [II] [- - - - -] गन्धं विष्णोश्च पादकमले समवाप्य तत्र । अर्थव्ययेन

२६. महता च कालेनात्मप्रभावनतपौरजनेन तेन । (॥) चक्रं विभर्ति रिपु [- ~ - - ~ -
- - ~ - ~ - ~ - - ~ - -] [।] [- - ~ - ~ - ~ -
- ~ - - - -] तस्य स्वतंत्रविधिकारणमानुषस्य । (॥)

२७. कारितमवक्रमतिना चक्रभूतः चक्रपालितेन गृहं । वर्षशतेष्ट्यात्रिंशे गुप्तानां काल.....[१।]
[- - - - -]
- - - - - आ]र्थमुत्थितमिवोर्जयतोऽचलस्य

२८. कुर्वत्प्रभुत्वमिव भाति पुरस्य मूर्ध्नि ॥ अन्यच्च मूर्ध्नि सु[- - - - -]
- - - - -]

२९. रुद्धविहंगमार्गे विभ्राजते [— — — — —] [॥]

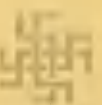
ROMAN TRANSCRIPT.

First Part.

1. Siddhham [॥*] Śriyam=abhimata-bhōgyām naika-kāl-āpanitām tri-
daśapati-sukh-ārtttham yō Balêr=ājahāra । kamala-nilayanāyāḥ
śāsvatām dhāma Lakshmyāḥ
2. sa jayati vijit-ārttir=Vishṇur=atyanta-jishṇuḥ ॥ Tad=anu jayati śāsvat
śrī-parikshipta-vakshāḥ sva-bhuja-janita-vīryō rājarājādhirājah ।
narapati-
3. bhujagānām māna-darpp-ôtpañānām pratikṛiti-Garud-ājñā[m]
nirvviṣi[m] ch=āvakarttā ॥ Nṛipati-guṇa-nikētaḥ **Skandagupta**! prī-
thu śrīḥ chaturudadhi-jalāntām sphīta-paryanta-dēśām ।
4. avanim=avanat-ārīr=yah chakār=ātma-samsthām pitari surasa-
khitvam prāptavaty=ātma-śaktyā ॥ Ā(A)pi cha jitam=[e]va tēna pratha-
yanti yaśānsi yasya ripavō=pi āmūla-bhagna-darpā niva.....
Mlechchha-dēśēshu ॥
5. Kramēṇa buddhyā nipuṇām pradhārya dhyātvā cha kṛitsnān=
guṇa-dōsha-hētūn । vyapētya sarvān=manujēndra-putrān=Lakshmiḥ
svayām yam varayām-chakāra ॥ Tasmin=nṛipē śāsati n=aiva kaśchid=
dharmmād=apētō manujah prajāsu ।
6. ārttō daridrō vyasanī kadaryō daṇḍ[yō] na vā yō bhṛīsa-pīḍitaḥ syāt ॥
Evam sa jtvā pṛithivīm samagrām bhagn-āgra-darpā[n] dvishataś=
cha kṛitvā sarvvēshu dēśēshu vidhāya gōptṛi(pṛi)n samchinta-
yā[m-ā]sa bahu-prakāram ॥ Syāt=kō=nurūpō
7. matimān=vini(nī)tō mēdhā-smṛitibhyām=anapētabhāvaḥ saty-ārjav-
audārya-nay-ôpapannō mādhubrya-dākshīnya-yaśo-nvitaś=cha ॥
Bhaktō=nuraktō nṛviśēsha-yuktaḥ sarvv-ôpadhābhiś=cha viśuddha-
buddhiḥ । ānṛīnya-bhāv-ôpagat-āntarātmāḥ(tmā) sarvvasya lōkasya
hitē pravṛittah ॥



8. Nyāy-ārjanê=rthasya cha kaḥ samarthah syād=arjitasy=āpy=atha rakshaṇê cha | gôpāyitasy=āpi [cha] vṛiddhi-hêtau vṛiddhasya pātra-pratipādanāya || Sarvvêshu bhṛityêshv=api samhatêshu yô mē praśishyān=nikhilān **Surāsh/rān** | ān jñātam=êkaḥ khalu **Parṇadattô** bhārasya tasy=ôdvahanê samarthah ||
9. Evam vinischitya nṛip-ādhipêna naikân=ahô-râtragaṇân=sva-matyâ yaḥ samniyuktô=rthanayâ kathamchit samyak-**Surāsh/r-**âvani-pālanāya || Niyujya dēvâ Varuṇam pratichyām svasthâ yathâ n=ônmanasô babhûvu[h] [1] pûravvêtarasyām diśi **Parṇadattam** niyujya rājâ dhṛitimāms=tath=ābhût | (II)
10. Tasy=âtma-jô hy=âtma-maja-bhâva-yuktô dvidh=êva ch=âtm=âtma-vasêna nitaḥ sarvvâtman=âtm=êva cha raksaniyô nityâtmavân=âtma-ma-kântarûpaḥ | (II) Rûp-ânurûpair=lalitair=vichitraih nitya-pramôd-ânvita-sarva-bhâvah | prabuddha-padmâkara-padmavaktrô nṛiṇām śaranyah śaraṇ-âgatânām | (II)
11. Abhavad=bhuvi **Chakrapālito**=sāv=iti nāmna prathitaḥ priyô janasya | sva-guṇair=an-upaskṛitair=udâtt[ai]ḥ pitaram yaś=cha viśêshayām-chakâra | (II) Kshamâ prabhutvam vinayo nayaś=cha śauryām vinâ śaurya-mah-[â]rchchanam cha | vākyaṁ damô dānam=adīnatâ cha dākshinyam=ânṛinyam=aś[û]nyatâ cha | (II) Saum̐daryam=âryêtaranigrahaś=cha a-vismayô dhairyam=udīrṇatâ cha |
12. ity=êvm=êtê=tiśayêna yasminn=a-vipravâsêna guṇâ vasanti | (II) Na vidyatê=sau sakalê=pi lôkê yatr=ôpamâ tasya guṇaih kriyêta | (II) sa êva kârtsnyêna guṇ-ânvitânām babhûva nṛi(nṛi)ṇām=upamâna-bhûtaḥ | (II) Ity=êvam=êtân=adhikân=atô=nyân guṇân par[i]kshya svayam=êva pitrâ | yaḥ samniyuktô nagarasya rakshâm viśishya pûrvân prachakâra samyak | (II)
13. Aśritya vi(vi)ryam su-bhuja-dvayasya svasy=aiva n=ânyasya nara-sya darpaṁ | n=ôdvêjayâm-âsa cha kaṁchid=êvam=asmin=purê ch=aiva śasâsa dushtâḥ(n) | (II) Viśrambham=alpê na śasâma yô=smin kâlê na lôkêshu sa-nâgarêshu | yô lâlayâm-âsa cha paura-vargân (- - -) putrân=suparikshya dôshân | (II) Samram̐jayām cha prakṛitir=babhûva pûrvasmitâbhâshaṇa-mâna-dānaih |
14. niryantraṇ-ânyônya-griha-pravêśai[h] samvarddhita-riti-grihōpachâ-raih | (II) Brahmanya-bhâvêna parêṇa yuktaḥ śaktaḥ śuchir=dâna-parô yathâvat | prâpyân=sa kâlê vishayân = sishêvê dharm-ârthayôś=ch=âpy=a-virôdhanêna | (II) Yô(- - - - -) **Parṇadattât**=sa nyâyavân=atra kim=asti chitraṁ | muktâkalâp-âmbuja-padma-śitâch=chandrât=kim=ushṇam bhavitâ kadâchit | (II)



Second Part.

24. Dṛipt-āri-darpa-pranudaḥ pṛithu-śriyaḥ sva-vaṇ(m)śa-kêṭôḥ sakal-
 āvanī-patêḥ | rājādhirājy-ādbhuta-puṇya-[karmaṇaḥ] [— — — — —]
 — — — — —] [u] [— — — — —] — — — — —
 — — — — —) [i] dvīpasya gōptā mahatām cha nêtā daṇḍadvi[—]nām
25. dvīshatām damāya (u) Tasy=âtma-jen=âtma-guṇ-ânvitēna Gōvinda-
 pād-ārpita-jivitēna | [— — — — —] — — — — —
 — — — — —] [u] [— — — — —] — — — — —]gdham Vishṇôḥ=cha
 pāda-kamalē samavāpya tatra | artha-vyayēna
26. mahatā mahatā cha kâlên=âtma-prabhāva-nata-paurajanēna
 tēna (u) Chakram bibharti ripu [— — — — —] — — — — —
 — — — — —] [i] [— — — — —] — — — — —] tasya
 sva-tamtra-vidhi-kāraṇa-mānushasya (u)
27. Kāritam=avakra-matinā Chakrabhṛitah **Chakrapālītēna** grīham |
 varsha-śatē=śtā-trimśē **Guptānām** kâla.....[u] [— — — — —]
 — — — — —] — — — — —] — — — — —]
 ājṛtham=utthitam=iv=Ôrjayatô=chalasya
28. kurvat=prabhutvam=iva bhāti purasya mûrdhni || Anyach=cha
 mûrddhani su[— — — — —] — — — — —
 — — — — —] — — — — —]
29. ruddha-vihaṅga-mārgam vibhrājatê [— — — — —] [u]

TRANSLATION.

First Part.

Perfection has been attained ! Victorious is he, (the god) Vishṇu—the perpetual abode of the (goddess) Lakshmī whose dwelling is the waterlily, the conqueror of distress, the completely victorious one—who, for the sake of the happiness of (Indra) the lord of the gods, rescued from (the demon) Bali the goddess of wealth and splendour, who is admitted to be worthy of enjoyment, (and) who had been kept away from him for a very long time.

(Lines 2 to 4)—And next, victorious for ever is the supreme king of kings over kings, whose breast is embraced by the goddess of wealth and splendour; who has developed heroism by (the strength of his) arms; and who commandeered (and utilised) the authority of (his local) representatives, who were so many Garuḍas, (and used it as) an antidote against the (hostile) kings, who were so many serpents, lifting up their hoods in pride and arrogance—**Skandagupta**, of great glory, the abode of kingly qualities, who, when (his) father by his own power had attained the position of being a friend of the gods, overthrew his enemies and made subject to himself the (whole) earth, bounded by the waters of the



(And) having noticed the great bewilderment caused by the excess of rain, (the mountain) **Ūrjayat**, desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, stretched forth as it were a hand, consisting of the river (**Palāśini**), decorated with the numerous flowers that grew on the edges of (its) banks.

(Line 17)—(Then on all sides) the people fell into despair, discussing how they should act and, spending the whole night awake in vain, in great anxiety they reflected:—“Here in a moment, (the lake) **Sudarśana** has (by the overflowing of its waters) assumed an unpleasing appearance towards all the people, (as if it were) a man (?), having the appearance of the ocean, quite full of water, can it ever (again) become pleasing of aspect,.....?”

(Lines 18 to 22)—.....he having become.....and displaying the height of devotion towards his father, (and) holding in full view, for the welfare of the king and of the city also, religion, which has such auspicious results, in a century of years, increased by thirty and seven others. also,.....attentive to the sacred writings.....whose majesty is well known. Then, having sacrificed to the gods with oblations of clarified butter and with obeisances, and having gratified the twice-born with (presents of) riches, and having paid respect to the citizens with such honours as they deserved, and to such of (his) servants as were worthy of notice, and to (his) friends with presents, in the first fortnight of the month.....belonging to the hot season, on the first day, he, having practised (all the above) respectful observances for two months, made an untold expenditure of wealth, and, (built an embankment) a hundred cubits in all in length, and sixty and eight in breadth, and seven (?) men's height in elevation,.....of two hundred cubits. (Thus), having done honour to the kings, he laboriously built up, with a great masonry work, properly constructed, the lake **Sudarśana**, which is renowned as not being evil by nature, so that it should last for all eternity—agitated by the challenges of the ruddy-geese, the herons and the swans which display (their) beauty along the edges of the firmly-built embankment,.....pure waters; on the earth.....the sun and the moon.

(Line 23)—And may the city become prosperous, full of inhabitants, cleansed from sin by prayers sung by many hundreds of Brāhmaṇas, (and free from) drought and famine for a hundred years..... (Thus) ends the record of the description of the restoration of (the lake) **Sudarśana**.

Second Part.

(Line 24)—.....of him (**Skandagupta**), who destroyed the pride of (his) haughty enemies; who is of great glory; who is the banner of his lineage; who is the lord of the whole earth; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings;.....

(Line 24)—.....(**Parṇadatta**), the protector of the peninsula, and the leader of great.....of armies for the subjugation of (*his*) enemies.

(Lines 25 and 26)—By his son, who is endowed with his good qualities, (*and*) whose life is devoted to (*the worship of*) the feet of (the god) Govinda,.....—by him, who causes the citizens to bow down by his own prowess, having there attained.....and the feet, which are like waterlilies, of (the god) Viṣṇu, with a great expenditure of wealth and time (*there was built a temple*) of that famous (*god*) Viṣṇu who carries the discus,.....enemies, (*and*) who became (*incarnate and*) human by the exercise of his own free will. (*Thus*) by **Chakrapālita**, who is of a straightforward mind, there has been caused to be built a temple of (the god) Chakrabhṛit, in a century of years together with the thirty-eighth (*year*),.....the time of the **Guptas**.

(Line 27).....uprisen, as it were, of the mountain **Urjayat**, shines as if displaying (*its*) lordship on the forehead of the city.

(Line 28) And another.....on the forehead.....
.....obstructing the path of the
birds, is resplendent.....



APPENDIX A

Place-names occurring in the inscriptions dealt with in the Memoir.

Ānarta:—	Northern Kāthiāwād with Kuśasthalī (Dvārakā) as its capital.
Āndhras:—	The Telugu people and their country on the eastern coast of India.
Anupa-nivṛid:—	The realm (<i>nivṛid</i>) of Anūpa . Cf. Anūpa-deśa .
Aparānta:—	The western coast of India including the Koṅkana .
Chodas:—	The people on the Coromandel coast and their country.
Gandhāras:—	The people of the present North-West Frontier Province and eastern Afghānistān.
Kachchha:—	The same as the present Cutch State.
Kaliṅga:—	The east-coast between the Mahānadī and the Godāvāri, roughly.
Kambojas:—	Identification is not certain. Some people near the North-West Frontier Province seem to be meant.
Ketalaputa:—	(Possibly Ketala stands for Kerala). King of Kerala or Malabār .
Kukura:—	Some portion of Rājputānā seems to be meant.
Maru:—	Possibly some portion of Mārwād .
Nishāda:—	Probably the part round the Sātpurā range in the Khāndesh and Nāsik districts.
Pāṇdyas:—	The people of southernmost India; possibly of the Tinnevely and Coimbtore districts.
Pārindas:—	Some eastern tribe.
Pāṭaliputra:—	The old city of this name, also called Kusumapura and Pushpapura. It was founded by Udaya the grandson of Ajātaśatru, who was the contemporary of Gautama Buddha. The modern Bankipore and Patna mark its site.
Peteṇikas:—	Identification not settled.
Pūrv-āpar-Ākar-āvanti:—	Eastern and western Mālwa (<i>Pūva-Ākara+Āpara-Avanti</i>).
Risṭikas:—	Identification not settled.
Satiyaputa:—	Not identified. Travancore has been suggested as a possible equivalent.



Sindhu-Sauvīra:—

Surāshīra:—

S'vabhra:—

Tāmraparī:—

Yaudheyas:—

**Yonas, or
Yonas } :—**

Sind with a part of the Multān district in the Panjab. Sorath. Southern Kāthiāwād, Jūnāgaḍh and other southern States (?)

The tract watered by the Svabhramatī, the modern Sābaramatī river.

Possibly Ceylon. Or it may be the extreme south of India watered by the river of the same name.

A Rājput tribe in western Rājputānā.

The Ionian Greeks.

APPENDIX B

Historical personages mentioned in the inscriptions dealt with in the Memoir.

Antekina:—	Antigonos Gonatos of Macedonia (276–239 B. C.).
Antiyaka:—	The 'Yona' King Antiochus II. Theos of Syria is probably meant (261–246 B. C.).
Chakrapālita:—	The son of Paṇḍadatta who was in charge of the city of Gīrnār or, we can say, of Jūnāgaḍh.
Chandragupta:—	The Maurya Emperor of this name (322–298 B. C.).
Magā:—	Magas of Cyrene (cir. 300–250 B. C.).
Paṇḍadatta:—	Skandagupta's deputy in charge of the province of Kāthiāwād.
Pushyagupta:—	A Vaiśya whom Chandragupta, the Maurya Emperor, put in charge of Kāthiāwād.
Rudradāman:—	The <i>Mahākshatrapa</i> ruler of Western India. (cir. 150 A. D.).
Sātakarṇi:—	The Lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha and son-in-law of the <i>Mahākshatrapa</i> Rudradāman. He was the Andhra king called Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī-Puṣumāyi, (cir. 150 A. D.).
Skandagupta:—	A Gupta Emperor (455–467 A. D.).
Suviśākha:—	The Pahlava governor under Rudradāman the <i>Mahākshatrapa</i> . His father's name was Kulaipa.
Turamāya:—	Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, King of Egypt (cir. 285–247 B. C.).
Tushāspha :—	A <i>Yavana</i> chieftain who ruled under Aśoka over Kāthiāwād.

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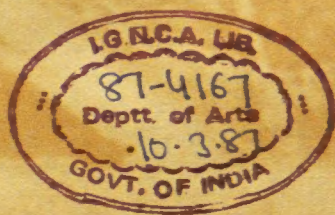


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